

NDIAN RECORDS SERIES

BROWNE CORRESPONDENCE

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PREFACE

Browne Correspondence is the second volume to be published by the National Archives of India under Scheme II of its Publication Programme.

Major James Browne was appointed by Warren Hastings as his personal agent at the court of Shah Alam at Delhi. The story of his mission is fairly well known and many modern historians have given accounts of it. Yet it was thought that it would be of considerable advantage to students to have the full text of his correspondence, marked as it was by Browne's characteristic style and expression, in print. Hastings never submitted the whole correspondence between Browne and himself either to the Court of Directors or to the Calcutta Council. On 10 December 1784 the Directors asked Browne to transmit copies of all the letters. These letters which are to be found in Foreign Miscellaneous Volume No. 41 A in the National Archives of India are here printed. This volume is incomplete as the first forty letters are missing. The lacuna has been filled by obtaining copies from the Commonwealth Relations Office, London, to whom our grateful thanks are due.

To give a full account of Browne's mission, his letters to Macpherson who took over from Hastings in February 1785 have also been included. These have been culled from the Secret Department records in the custody of this Department. Although the enclosures (referred to as appendices in the text) are found separated from the letters in the original copy, we have for the convenience of the reader placed them along with the relevant letters.

Capital letters, spelling, punctuation etc. have been left untouched. But where there is an obvious copyist's error, attention has been drawn by insertion of the word *sic*. In other cases, explanatory foot-notes have been given. As the original copy is torn in some places, care has been taken to suggest the correct reading of the missing portions in square brackets. Exhaustive notes have been added with a view to rendering the text easily understandable.

In editing this correspondence, recourse has been made to two contemporary Persian manuscripts, the *Ibrat-Nama* and the *Munshaat-i-Husaini*. The *Ibrat-Nama* is an account of the reign of Shah Alam written by Fakir Khairuddin who was for some time attached to James Anderson and was later an influential official in the service of Shah Alam's son, while the *Munshaat-i-Husaini* is a compilation by Browne's agent, Saiyad Mahomed Hussain, of the letters written by his master to the Emperor and his noblemen.

I take this opportunity to thank my colleagues Shri Sourindra Nath Roy and Shri Sudhir Chandra Gupta who have helped in editing

and annotating the volume. I would like to put on record the valuable assistance which Miss D. G. Keswani and the staff of the Publications Branch have rendered in seeing the volume through the press within a short period of four months.

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New Delhi.
26 January 1960.

KRISHNA DAYAL BHARGAVA

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

When empires decline, it is always difficult to determine whether a weak ruler hastens the end or the dissolving situation throws up decrepit characters. Shah Alam had all the defects which characterise those who preside over the destinies of fading kingdoms. He sat on the Mughal throne for 47 years, but was always a puppet; the only question was who should control his acts and decisions. Weak in mind and spirit, he found the empire in decay and left it in ruins. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 had removed the last of the great Mughal emperors, and under his successors the fissiparous tendencies gathered strength. Kingdoms independent in all but name sprang up all over India and the Emperor could not enforce his authority much beyond the environs of Delhi. The territory under his direct rule was not more than about 15,000 square miles, bounded on the south by the Chambal and on the north by the Ganges. The major portion of this territory was parcelled out among a number of chiefs on a feudal basis, and many of these turbulent nobles were openly fighting amongst themselves for control of the imperial administration. When one of these nobles murdered Alamgir II in 1759, his son Ali Gauhar, a refugee in Bihar, proclaimed himself as Emperor with the title Shah Alam; but the "lord of the universe" was unable to enter his own capital. Aggressive elements were pressing on Delhi from all sides—the Sikhs in the north-west, the Rajputs and the Jats from the west and south and the Rohillas and Shujaud Daulah from the east, while, above all, the thrust of the Marathas right up to Malwa and Delhi brought the prospect of a new Hindu ascendancy within the realm of possibility. They were, it is true, soundly defeated at Panipat in 1761 by Ahmed Shah Abdali, who recognized Shah Alam as emperor; but the retirement of the Afghans made it clear that there had been no change in the balance of forces in India. Shah Alam was still important in the politics of India, not because he wielded any influence of his own but because he was the wearer of the Imperial Crown. This was the symbol of sovereignty which still exuded magic and was invoked as the source of all authority. The Emperor remained the *de jure* ruler of almost the whole of India; and possession of his person was a prospect which attracted all who aspired to influence and power. Again, his capital was a city of strategic and historical importance. It was the key of Hindustan as well as the seat of authority.

In 1765 Clive granted Shah Alam the districts of Kora and Allahabad as a royal demesne for his dignity and expenses, and promised him an annual tribute of 26 lakhs in return for the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Thus the ally of Mir Kasim became after Buxar the pensioner of

the victors. Whatever the Court of Directors and Hastings might contend later, there is nothing to show that Clive had intended the gift of the two districts to be in any way conditional; and it was not really necessary to purchase the Diwani, for from about 1740 Bengal had been virtually independent of Delhi. Clive's motives were, in fact, European; he wished to put up the nominal sovereignty of Shah Alam as a barrier against the interference of the British Government and the protests of France. But Shah Alam, too simple to understand, pressed the English to fulfil their promise to escort him to his capital, only to be met time and again with the answer that they would do so after the rains. At last in 1771 the Marathas captured Delhi and, contrary to English advice, the Emperor accepted their invitation and returned to Delhi in December 1771.

For some years after Clive's treaty, the tribute was paid to Shah Alam, but after 1769 the instalments were seldom of the full amount, and the tribute fell into arrears. The Company, however, never denied its obligation to pay and explained shortage as due to famine and consequent decline in revenue. The fact that the Emperor could always raise money on the strength of the Company's promise shows that this right to tribute was never questioned. But Warren Hastings, who became Governor of Bengal in February 1772, considered that Shah Alam's departure to Delhi under Maratha auspices and his alleged transfer of Kora and Allahabad to them created a new situation. Hastings had never been in favour of payment of tribute to the Emperor. It seemed to him absurd to drain Bengal of current specie at a time when the Company was finding it hard to meet its necessary expenditure in order to pay tribute to a wretched king of shreds and patches for a piece of paper "not intrinsically worth three halfpence", as the Company held the sovereignty of Bengal by right of conquest. He now, therefore, contended that the changed circumstances dissolved all existing engagements with the Emperor. As Shah Alam was unable to hold the districts of Kora and Allahabad in accordance with what Hastings deemed the spirit of the treaty of 1765, they reverted to the Company. If, however, Shah Alam wished to renew his old relations with the English, the two districts would be restored to him; but in return he should abandon his right to tribute. To settle these matters Hastings proceeded to Benares and invited Shah Alam or his envoy and Nawab Shujaud Daulah to meet him there. Meantime, even before negotiations began, Hastings discontinued payment of tribute but on the grounds that Bengal was impoverished and its finances were in a low state. Shujaud Daulah came to Benares but Hastings wrote to Shah Alam that he was surprised to find no one attending on his behalf. In fact the Emperor had asked his Vazir Shujaud Daulah to negotiate on his behalf also, but Hastings chose to ignore this¹ and Shah Alam's cause went by default at Benares. The two districts were sold to Shujaud Daulah and the question of the tribute was quietly buried.

Hastings has been severely criticised for this transaction, both at the

1. Browne's letter to Warren Hastings 11 February 1784, p. 121,

time and later. It was one of the grounds of criticism by the majority and one of the charges in the impeachment; and many historians have repeated the censure. Hastings argued that to aid the Emperor was in fact to strengthen the Marathas; but the majority contended that Hastings should have held the districts and the tribute in trust for Shah Alam till the Emperor should be a free man again. There is no doubt that Hastings had no right to resume the districts or withhold the tribute. No conditions had been attached by Clive to his pledges, and to argue on the basis of the spirit underlying them is to come perilously near casuistry. But Hastings was a master of real-politik, and his real defence lies in what he once termed the "natural charter" of the sword. He refused to attach any value to the name and shadow of the Mughal authority, and believed that if the Company ignored Shah Alam, he would cease to be a factor to be reckoned with in Indian politics. All the protests and peremptory demands for payment of the Emperor were left unanswered, and passage was refused to Major John Morrison, an English adventurer once in the Company's service, whom Shah Alam appointed his ambassador in Great Britain. Morrison eventually sailed in a Dutch ship, and arrived in England with an offer of the Diwani to King George III, but little is known of this mission except that it came to nothing.

In 1776, however, rumours reached Fort William that Shah Alam, the Rohillas, the Marathas and the Sikhs were forming a coalition to invade Oudh. This really meant war with the Company, for Oudh subsisted entirely on British strength; and Hastings decided that he should interfere in Delhi politics and prevent the formation of this alliance. For some time after Buxar, Najaf Khan, one of the principal noblemen at Shah Alam's court, had been receiving an annual pension of two lakhs from the English. This had later been discontinued, but now Hastings offered to renew the subsidy and pay all the arrears provided Najaf Khan dismissed Samru, Madec (two notorious European adventurers) and certain other persons from his service. In addition, once these men had been dismissed, Hastings deputed Major Hannay to visit Najaf Khan and secure his political and military support for the English and the Vazir. Najaf Khan, while expressing his friendliness towards the Vazir, refused to dismiss Samru and Madec lest they join his enemies; but despite this, Hannay who was ill-suited for a mission of such delicacy, went to Lucknow to meet an envoy of Najaf Khan. Hannay's negotiations failed, but on the other hand the coalition also failed to materialise. By the end of 1779 Najaf Khan had gained control of the administration in Delhi, but the Company also had surmounted the worst crisis in the Maratha campaigns, and Najaf Khan was too shrewd a man to join the losing side. In response to the Peshwa's request for assistance, Najaf Khan invited the Peshwa or his chief generals to come to northern India. Obviously the Mughal government had no intention of going to war, and this disinclination was only strengthened by the fall of Gwalior and the defeat of Mahadji Sindia. Both Shah Alam and Najaf Khan sent agents to Hastings; and had Sindia not come to terms at Salbai, the Governor General

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contemplated closer relations with Delhi.²

Hastings, in fact, had nothing to fear from Delhi so long as Najaf Khan was in power; but in April 1782 he died, and Shah Alam's court was once more at the mercy of faction. The four chief claimants to power were Najaf Khan's grand-nephew Mirza Shafi Khan, his chief slaves Afrasiab Khan and Najaf Quli Khan, and one of his generals, Muhammad Beg Hamdani. Afrasiab Khan, a Hindu converted to Islam, was Najaf Khan's favourite and had been designated by him as his successor. He was, however, a poor general with few followers, and though, being the only claimant in Delhi at the time of Najaf Khan's death, he assumed charge of the administration, his rivals Shafi Khan and Hamdani made truces with the Sikhs and Jats respectively and marched on Delhi; Najaf Quli on the other hand joined Afrasiab Khan. The Emperor himself was too weak to control either men or events and was anxious only to sell his patronage to the highest bidder. This struggle for power in Delhi was a welcome opportunity to the Sikhs, the Jats and the Marathas to recover lost ground and perhaps even to secure control of Delhi and the Emperor. In other words, the situation was one whose development it was impossible to foresee; and as the contending parties were nearly balanced, Hastings thought it possible that a slight effort on the Company's part might restore Shah Alam's authority. So he decided in August 1782 to send an agent to secure reliable information. His choice fell on Major James Browne, who apparently volunteered for the post. Browne had joined the East India Company's army in 1765 at the age of 21. In 1772 he attracted the attention of Hastings who appointed him his aide-de-camp; and their relations thereafter seem to have been cordial, for the Governor General described him to Shah Alam as "a gentleman who has been many years in my family [and] in whom I repose entire confidence." He served as Collector of the Jungle Terai Districts for six years from 1774 and then saw active service in the Maratha wars in the Gohad District. Browne, however, was the wrong choice for this diplomatic mission. Of a literary bent of mind, he had acquired a sound knowledge of Hindustani and Persian, but lacked shrewdness and discernment. He had no true understanding of either the men and movements of North India or the policy of Hastings. Excitable and easily persuaded, he failed to interpret and implement the views of his Government, but sought instead to impose his own distorted judgments and biased opinions on them. The appointment of Browne is one of those rare instances when Hastings showed himself to be a faulty judge of men, but it can be said in mitigation that he does not seem to have taken long to realise his mistake.

To avoid publicity and rumour Hastings sent Browne as his personal representative with the sole object of reporting on the characters and conditions at Delhi and the activities of foreign agents, especially the vakils of

2. his letter to Sir John Macpherson 12 October 1781, H. Dodwell (Ed), *Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson*, p. 88,

Haider Ali of Mysore ; he did not expect Browne to stay very long, but if it did become necessary Browne would be given an official commission on behalf of the East India Company. Browne was directed, on his way to Delhi, to meet the Vazir, ascertain his views and consider himself as much the Vazir's agent as that of Hastings. He was to abstain from interference in the politics at Shah Alam's court and seek to avoid discussion of the thorny problems of the tribute and the two districts ; but if the Emperor insisted on raising these topics, Browne was merely to say that the Company's finances did not permit of payment, and the two districts were no longer in its possession. If Shah Alam sought military aid, Browne was not to reject the request but to enquire on what service the Company's forces would be employed, and from what resources it would be paid. Hastings entrusted Browne with no discretionary powers but instructed him to refer all problems to him for orders.

Browne set out on his journey and reached Lucknow in November. The Vazir was anxious to support his relative Mirza Shafi Khan, and Browne, forgetting the directive of Hastings not to attach himself to any party at Delhi unless Shah Alam desired it, invited Asafud Daulah to give him a private memorandum which could be utilised, if occasion arose, for reconciling the Emperor and Shafi Khan. His arguments that the minister at Delhi should be friendly to the English and that otherwise Shafi Khan might seek a Maratha alliance, had never found favour with Hastings. As the situation in Delhi was still inchoate, Browne stayed in Lucknow for a month, and departed only on 1 December, when conditions had become more settled. Shafi Khan, who had been appointed minister in September, had succeeded, with the help of Hamdani, in acquiring supremacy at Delhi. But if for the time being he was triumphant in domestic politics, he seemed encircled by foreign enemies. The Sikhs plundered the Upper Doab right up to the gates of Delhi, Sindia with his Maratha legions was advancing from the south and demanding *chauth*, and the Emperor and his nobles believed that the real purpose of Browne's mission was to reduce Shah Alam to a client status similar to that of the Nawab of Oudh. So at Farrukhabad Browne received a letter from Shah Alam, obviously dictated by Shafi Khan, ordering him to return to Calcutta. Browne sought instructions from Hastings, but the Governor General was too preoccupied with other business to read his letters, let alone answer them. Browne, therefore, on his own initiative sent Salahuddin, the Munshi whom he had engaged at Lucknow, and who had previously served at Shah Alam's court, to Delhi to assure the Emperor and his entourage that Browne's mission was peaceful. Salahuddin was successful in securing invitations from Shah Alam and Shafi Khan to Browne to come to Delhi *via* Agra, whither Shafi Khan had proceeded. Hastings also had by now sent word to Browne that he should go to Delhi, but even before this directive reached him he started for Agra, interpreting the silence of Hastings as consent. There he met Afrasiab Khan and Shafi Khan, who received him with every courtesy; and Browne again suggested to Hastings that though Shafi Khan had not

the support of either the Emperor or any of the leading nobles, the English should help him to secure his position. Alarmed by the Sikh advance to the frontiers of Oudh, he requested Hastings to despatch troops to this region, and as Shah Alam was pleading for military assistance, he even favoured the arrival of Hastings and the Vazir at Delhi at the head of their troops. At first he contemplated inviting Sindia to join this anti-Sikh coalition, but Shafi Khan soon convinced him that the Maratha leader was perhaps an even greater danger to British dominion than the marauders from the north; and he urged Hastings to conclude with Shafi Khan a military alliance which would be ratified by Shah Alam. If the territories in Shah Alam's immediate possession were endangered by invasion or rebellion the Company should send troops and be paid Rs. 25,000 per month for each regiment of 1000 sepoys; in similar circumstances, the Mughals would assist the Company or the Vazir with cavalry at the rate of Rs. 90,000 per month for a thousand horse. It was also suggested that the English and Asafud Daulah might ensure Shah Alam's friendship by paying him, not a tribute, but a very moderate stipend for his service and satisfaction. Hastings for long sent no reply, and then wrote in general terms to Shafi Khan³. He was aware that Shafi Khan had been throughout in communication with Sindia, but this caused him no alarm. "The interest of the Marathas", David Anderson, the Resident at Sindia's court, had written, "and those of all the successors of the late Najaf Khan clash so materially that I do not think it probable that any close or great alliance can take place betwixt them".⁴ In June Shafi Khan and Sindia met, and Browne reported that they had reached a close alliance, as a consequence of which Shafi Khan ceased to be as cordial to the English as before. But Browne urged that it was not yet too late and, frantic in his eagerness, wrote to Hastings either to send a brigade to Delhi to seize control or to conclude an alliance with Shafi Khan. Sindia was not to be trusted; though not yet an enemy, he was "one of our most dangerous friends", and unless Hastings acted quickly 'a Maratha ministry, and perhaps even a Maratha vazir, might be established in Delhi.' But Hastings had learnt to distrust the over-enthusiasm of his agent, and remained silent in his imperious and unpassioned equanimity.

Meantime Afrasiab Khan arrived at the camp of Shafi Khan and invited the English to sign a treaty with him, offering to assign lands for the payment of nine or ten battalions to be stationed near Delhi. Browne now preferred Afrasiab Khan to Shafi Khan as an ally. Afrasiab Khan had the Emperor's written approbation, which Shafi had not; there were rumours that the latter was in communication with the French; his affairs were in a desperate, almost irretrievable, condition; he had refused to permit Browne to go on alone to Delhi. Hastings should, therefore, send a draft treaty at once; "the whole Mogul Empire, with its unhappy master, look to you for

3. 24 May 1783. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*. Vol. VI, No. 758.

4. Letter to Warren Hastings 8 May 1783; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I, *Mahadji Sindhia and North Indian Affairs 1785-1794*, p. 2-3.

redemption from the utmost distress and confusion". Browne's arguments might all have been of validity, but his sudden and arbitrary variations of preference were not conducive to confidence in his judgment. Hastings also received letters from Shah Alam and his palace adviser Abdul Ahad Khan requesting him, "the offspring of this Royal House", to join hands with Afrasaib Khan in restoring Shah Alam's power and improving his finances. The Governor General sought the advice of his Council. It would seem that Hastings himself was prepared to assist Shah Alam, but Stables and Macpherson opposed it.

On 23 September 1783 Shafi Khan was murdered by Hamdani. Browne, as the sponsor of Afrasiab Khan, believed that the crime, "however bad in itself, will be productive of good consequences, and preventive of great evils". Shah Alam formally appointed Afrasiab Khan as minister in Shafi Khan's place, though he could not rid his mind of fears that the English and Afrasiab might together set up his son Sulaiman Shikoh, who was in Shafi's camp, as a puppet Emperor. Though Afrasiab's treachery could not be established, it was clear that he had connived at the murder and Zainul Abidin, the dead man's brother, resenting Afrasiab's formal installation in office, encouraged the Sikhs to plunder the crown lands in Panipat, Sonipat and Delhi districts. Thus Shah Alam felt himself hard-pressed on all sides; but his fears of English machinations were totally unfounded. Browne, ignoring Afrasiab's protests, proceeded to Delhi on his own, arriving there on 11 December. Illness prevented him from seeing Shah Alam for nearly two months, but he pressed Hastings to despatch troops at once. The Sikh leaders were in correspondence with Browne and sought to secure his sympathy, but there does not seem to be any truth in the allegation of the Maratha agent at Delhi that Browne sent an envoy to the Sikhs proposing joint operations for conquering the remnant of the Mughal empire.

On 5 February 1784 Browne met Shah Alam. The Emperor was friendly, but obviously expectant of favours. Afrasiab Khan had by now reached Delhi and on later occasions Shah Alam and he suggested an alliance and financial assistance. Browne felt that the advance of the Sikhs and doubts as to the loyalty of Sindia to the English were strong reasons for immediately complying with their request. Letters were shown to Browne purporting to have been written by Sindia asking Shah Alam to receive him and join him against the English; and Afrasiab Khan contended that if the English refused him their support, he would have no option but to join the Marathas and ratify the articles of agreement to which he had already been forced to give a nominal consent. Hearing that Hastings was on his way to Lucknow, he also sought an interview. Hastings, in his reply to Afrasiab Khan, denied the rumours that he was planning a conquest of Delhi, but ignored the request for an interview, and virtually rejected the proposal for an alliance. "Now that the Nawab has gained power and through his courage, good counsel and the noble virtues the affairs have assumed a good turn, there is no need for the assistance

of his friends.”⁵ The situation had changed since August 1782, when a small force would have been sufficient to restore Shah Alam and no expense would have been incurred as the country had not yet been drained of all its resources. As regards Sindia, Hastings far from believing that he was intriguing against the Company, was confident of his loyalty, and wary of doing anything that might drive him into opposition. He was convinced that the letters of which Browne wrote so eloquently as “of a quality to convey light to the blind and hearing to the deaf” were in fact little more than forgeries. It was highly probable that Sindia planned to secure control of affairs in Delhi, but this did not necessarily imply that he was hostile to the English. This could only happen if the English sought to thwart his ambitions by supporting Afrasiab against him; but there was no reason why the English should deliberately incur financial loss by taking this step, especially as Sindia was not likely to gain materially “by the administration of a nominal empire and a wasted dominion”.

The whole situation was given a new twist by the flight to Lucknow in April of Shah Alam’s eldest son, Mirza Jawan Bakht. It seems probable, despite the arguments of Browne and the protests of Shah Alam himself, that the Prince fled with his father’s secret connivance. There is no evidence, however, to support the statement of the Persian chronicler⁶ that Hastings had invited him. The arrival of this distinguished visitor in fact placed the Governor General in a quandary. Browne assured Afrasiab that the Prince would receive no sympathy from the English; but Hastings found it difficult to reject outright the request of the Prince—who was a young man of spirit and amiable disposition—that the English help Shah Alam to rid himself of Afrasiab Khan. He was strongly tempted to conduct the Prince to Delhi with a military force and set the Emperor free, and only the certainty of counter-orders from his Council in Calcutta restrained him.⁷ Instead, he directed Browne who had been sent by Afrasiab Khan to Lucknow to secure Hastings’s consent to a treaty, to return to Delhi with the offer of conditional military support in return for a pardon and guarantee of safe return to the Prince. If Jawan Bakht were restored to favour and granted adequate lands and retinue, Hastings was prepared to send troops to the Emperor’s defence whenever required, provided they were adequately paid for, and never on any plea or pretence employed against Sindia. The Prince would be accompanied by English troops which would remain with him for six months at the most.

With these instructions Browne returned to the Emperor’s camp at Mathura, but Shah Alam gave no sign of agreeing to the conditions attached to Jawan Bakht’s return. Sindia, however, who had by now arrived in the

5. Letter of 9 March 1784. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, No. 978.

6. *Ibrat Nama*, p. 52 of translated copy.

7. S. C. Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife* p. 302.

neighbourhood, was not very happy at the prospect of the Prince returning with the Company's troops and perhaps thereby stiffening the resistance at Delhi to his own ambitions. He therefore instructed his envoy at Lucknow, Sadashiv Malhar, to suggest to Hastings that Sindia might be entrusted with the task of the prince's restoration. David Anderson, for some time Resident at Sindia's Court, was now one of Hastings's chief advisers, and doubtless gave his support to the scheme. The Governor General would have preferred acting on his own but the dissent of the Calcutta Council compelled him to "work with poor expedients and borrowed aids⁸". Fresh instructions were, therefore, sent to Browne to await Sindia's arrival at Shah Alam's Court and entrust him with the negotiations. Sindia offered to meet the Emperor and Afrasiab Khan at Agra in August but was delayed by the rains. In September he crossed the Chambal, occupied Dholpur and Bari Districts and reached the suburbs of Agra in October; and so carefully did he keep his views to himself that every party looked on him as an ally. Hastings rebuked Browne sharply for not paying sufficient attention to his orders and unduly encouraging Afrasiab Khan. He was not prepared to believe that Shah Alam was really opposed to the Prince's return; but even if this were so, he should be advised to trust his sons rather than his ambitious, intriguing nobles. The death of Wheeler, a Member of Council, compelled Hastings to return to Calcutta, but he directed Browne to assure Shah Alam that he had done everything in his power to comply with the Emperor's wishes. Jawan Bakht would soon set out for Delhi, and Sindia would make arrangements to the satisfaction of all.

On 22 October Afrasiab Khan went forward from Agra and met Sindia. Afrasiab called Sindia his father and sought to cement his friendship with him by presenting to his wife the two districts which he had already occupied. Their armies then marched together against Hamdani, who had set himself up as an independent ruler near Agra; but on 2 November Afrasiab was murdered at the instance of Zainul Abidin, the brother of Shafi Khan. Clearly the crime removed one more obstacle in Sindia's path, but even Browne did not believe the vague allegations that the Maratha had instigated it who, however, took full advantage of the situation; Zainul Abidin was placed in close confinement, Hamdani was forced to surrender and Shah Alam was taken under protection. Browne sought to thwart him but in vain; his efforts to secure the appointment of Abdul Ahad Khan as Afrasiab's successor ended in failure and his suggestion that Jawan Bakht should hasten to Agra and seize control led to nothing. But Sindia continued to give the strongest assurances that he would fulfil his promises to Hastings regarding the Prince, and James Anderson, who had succeeded his brother as the Resident at this Court, saw no reason to doubt his word: "for happen what will, I think his regard for his connexion with the English will ever prevent any serious

misunderstanding between us",⁹ Sindia, however, stated that Shah Alam was strongly averse to his son returning with English troops. As the Emperor was obviously now only an echo of Sindia's views, Anderson inferred that Sindia had no wish to see the Prince returning at the head of a body of troops and perhaps, by placing himself at the head of the Muslim noblemen at his father's court, defying the pretensions of the Maratha leader.¹⁰ That Sindia had no intention of withdrawing his influence from Delhi was made clear soon after, when Shah Alam appointed the Peshwa his *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*, provided Sindia, as the Peshwa's agent, exercised the actual functions of this office. Sindia was now both Regent and Commander-in-Chief, but Hastings still had faith in him and was prepared to waive the condition that Jawan Bakht be accompanied by troops; only a bodyguard was absolutely necessary¹¹. But the Prince was not willing, in these changed circumstances, to return to his father's court.

Thus by the time Hastings left India in February 1785, Sindia was firmly installed in the Emperor's favour and was seeking to establish his authority in the kingdom. This was the destruction of all Browne's hopes; he felt that the Company and the Vazir of Oudh were now isolated, and foresaw danger to Bengal itself. But Hastings saw no cause for alarm, and when Sir John Cumming moved his troops forward from Anupshahr as a warning to Sindia, he ordered their withdrawal. "What consequences this new-assumed policy of the Marattahs may produce, I cannot foresee; but think it more likely to embarrass Sindia himself by the burden of a ruined country and an exhausted revenue, than to add to his own power, or to yield more than a title of faded splendor to his master. . . . in no respect can it prove hurtful to our interests, or weaken his connection with us".¹²

There can be seen a gradual change in the attitude of Hastings towards the Mughal. He slowly realised that the man whom he had at first regarded with contempt as a mock king, "an idol of our own creation", exercised in fact considerable influence over the minds of the Indian people. Thus we find him writing in 1784: "Fallen as the House of Timur is, it is yet the relic of the most illustrious line of the Eastern World; its sovereignty is universally acknowledged, though the substance of it no longer exists, and the Company itself derives its constitutional dominions from its ostensible bounty". This change in opinion naturally led to a greater willingness to intervene in Delhi politics and, if possible, to secure control of Shah Alam. In October 1783 he favoured Browne's proposals for a military alliance with Afrasiab as it would not only bring peace to Delhi but secure the Company a decisive voice in the King's affairs and perhaps even protect the Vazir's dominions from Sikh depredations. Only the opposition of Stables and Macpherson led him to abandon the idea.

9. Letter to Warren Hastings 16 November 1784, *Poona Residency Correspondence* Vol. I p. 9.

10. Letter to Warren Hastings 25 November 1784, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

11. Letter to James Anderson 10 December 1784, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

12. G. W. Forrest (Ed): *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India*. Warren Hastings, Vol. II, p. 59.

Again in 1784 the fugitive Prince secured to him a handy instrument or intervention. Shah Alam's refusal of the offers of the French and Haidar Ali and even his loss of the tribute gave him a claim on British assistance, and an opportunity had arisen to close the career of Hastings in India with an act that would reflect credit on his nation and lasting honour on his reputation.¹³ Only the directives of the Court of Directors in London and the Council at Calcutta restrained him from marching on Delhi, as Browne wished, at the head of his troops. But what was the alternative policy to be followed? Browne favoured an alliance with Afrasiab Khan. But there is no doubt that the latter would have proved a broken reed. Hastings preferred to rely on Sindia. During the impeachment Burke suggested that Hastings intended to betray Shah Alam to the Marathas. This charge is wholly unfounded. He turned to Sindia because there was, in his opinion, no other real alternative and his confidence in the Maratha proved justified. Sindia remained loyal to the English, and his new title and increased prestige in the Maratha confederacy, posed little threat to British power. It was difficult at the time to say who was right, Browne or Hastings; now we know that it was Hastings.

As Sindia was in complete control of Shah Alam's affairs, Hastings's successor Sir John Macpherson considered it a waste of money to maintain two envoys and on 1 March recalled Browne. But Browne delayed his departure on the ground that the Emperor would regard it as a discourtesy, and forwarded to Calcutta a renewed demand, now supported by Sindia, for payment of tribute. As he had been fully authorised by Hastings to reject all such claims, Browne's action, which was calculated considerably to embarrass the Company, was wholly unjustified. Macpherson despatched a second and peremptory order to return, and on 20 April 1785 Browne had his audience of dismissal, when again he gave ear to demands for tribute and suggestions that the Prince return unconditionally. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 12 May 1785 the Company's Government suggested that he had been bribed by Shah Alam or Sindia, but there is no reason to doubt Browne's integrity. His dislike of Sindia was by now bordering on unreason, and his only purpose was to expose what he regarded as the Maratha's treachery towards the English.

Such was the rather ignominious end of Browne's mission to the Court of Shah Alam. He left for England early in 1786 and in September 1787 fought a duel at Hyde Park with Macpherson, who had refused to apologize in public for the aspersions his Government had cast on Browne. Neither was wounded, and Browne returned to India. He became a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1788, married in December 1789 and died at Dinapore on 22 June 1792. While in England he published his *India Tracts* which, besides giving accounts of the revenue and trade of the Jungle Terai Districts and of the rise of the Sikh power, assembled much material derived from Persian

13. Letter to Wheler 9 June 1784. Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*. Vol. III. p. 187-88; and Keith Feiling, *Warren Hastings*. p. 320.

manuscripts which Browne had come across while on his mission. These *Tracts* have proved of great value to later historians and form perhaps the only beneficial consequence of his stay at Shah Alam's court. As for Shah Alam and Sindia, when Macpherson ordered Anderson to protest against their demands they immediately retracted. Sindia gradually established his authority in this region but in 1788 was compelled to retire in face of Rohilla attacks and a ruffian Ghulam Qadir seized Delhi and blinded the Emperor. Sindia, however, soon recaptured Delhi but after his death in 1794 Shah Alam's position became again insecure till in 1803 the masterful Wellesley decided that the East India Company should assume responsibility for his personal safety. Three years later he died.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE HONORABLE WARREN
HASTINGS ESQR. GOVERNOR GENERAL &ca. &ca. AND MAJOR
JAMES BROWNE MINISTER TO THE COURT OF DEHLY

No. 1^{*}

MAJOR BROWNE'S INSTRUCTIONS

TO Major Browne

Sir,

Having judged it expedient at this time¹ to have a Minister at the Court of Dehly on the Part of this Government, and being desirous to avoid the *Eclat* of a publick appointment, and every circumstance attending it which might make it appear to have been suggested by any Interest or necessity of our affairs, or tend to change the Relation in which the Company has hitherto been considered in all their concerns with the King, as a supporter of his dignity. not a solicitor for its Influence I do therefore by my own separte authority, but with the knowledge of the other Members of the Board, appoint you to be my agent. and the Minister of this Government, at the Court of Dehly. and give you the following Instructions for your Guidance.

1. You will proceed directly to Lucknow, carefully concealing the knowledge of your appointment till your arrival there. You will receive a Letter to the Resident requiring him to give you an Introduction to the Nabob Vizier, and a Letter to the Nabob Vizier, notifying to him your appointment and the objects of it, with a Reference to him for such Instructions as he shall think proper to give you. This you will deliver to him with your own Hands, and lose no time in waiting upon him for that purpose after your arrival. You will inform him that having maturely considered the letters which he has lately written to me on the subject of the Administration of the King's Affairs,² I have judged it most advisable, both from its conformity to his Wishes, and to the natural Relation of his Government to ours that whatever Measures may become necessary, whether for the Retrieval of the King's Affairs, or for the ostensible appearance of our Disposition to support his Dignity upon an Occasion so peculiarly requiring it, these should appear to be our united Acts, in which it is also my desire to second and assist his views rather than to be the principal or

^{*}This first is duplicated in Home Misc. Vol. 238 pp. 166-75

Leader in any Plan that may be undertaken, that I have therefore directed you to wait upon him for the Purpose of receiving his Commands and Instructions, which you are to consider and execute as my own, and immediately take your Leave. You must inform the Vizier that your orders are to stay no longer at Lucknow than shall be necessary for this Purpose, and therefore request his speedy answer and your own Dismission; which having received you will repair to Ferockabad, or wherever shall be most convenient to you, and wait till you shall receive the King's Permission to proceed to his Presence.

2. I shall deliver to you two Letters addressed to the King one notifying your Commission and the Purport of it³; the other briefly declaring you to be the Person Commissioned.⁴ The first you will dispatch with a Letter from yourself from Banares or from any other part of the direct Road to Dehly; the other you will keep to deliver with your own Hands. On the Receipt of his Answer, if it shall contain an Acquiescence in your Commission and an Invitation to proceed, you will proceed of Course. If he shall decline it (which I mention only as a possible Event requiring a provision to be made for it) you will of Course return to Calcutta, the purpose of your Commission being thereby wholly precluded.

3. On your arrival at the Presence you will deliver my Second Letter with the Presents⁵ which you will take with you for that purpose: you will inform his Majesty that in the course of the last year several Persons came to me professing themselves to be deputed by him but as None of them brought such Credentials as were proper to ascertain that they came by his authority, I could not enter into that free communication with them which I should have wished. That in the visit which I afterwards made to Banaris,⁶ it was my Intention, and one of the objects of it, to have sought an opportunity to offer my Respects in Person to his Majesty, but I was prevented by causes which are well known to him. These occupied the whole time I had to spare of my absence from Calcutta, & I returned of course with my first wish unaccomplished; that the Nabob Vizier has lately written several Letters to me representing that his Majesty's affairs had fallen into much disorder by the Death of Nujif Khan, a Misfortune which on his Majesty's account I very sincerely regret, and that it was his Majesty's earnest wish that the Nabob Vizier & the English should at this time stand forth and exert themselves in discharging the Duties of attachment and Fidelity to his Service. That in conformity to this Representation and in compliance with his Majesty's wishes so imparted I have deputed you to attend his person having first seen the Nabob Vizier, for the purpose of enquiring and knowing from him what he shall judge necessary for his Majesty's service, with orders to communicate the same, and recommend them to his Majesty's Consideration. That being myself acquainted only with the General State of his affairs, and it being impossible to know what variation they may have undergone at the time of your arrival in his Presence, I have not ventured to give you any specific Instructions but have directed you simply to assure the King of the

Attachment of the Company my Principal to his person and Interest, and my wish and the united Wish of the Members of this administration, to be able to afford him such substantial Proofs of it as the State of our affairs will admit, that for this Purpose you have my orders either to remain at his Court and wait for such Instructions as you shall receive from me when I shall have been better informed of his Majesty's Pleasure from your first Report; or to return with his commands, as he shall think proper. You will be careful to guard against any misconstruction of my design in this Commission by taking an occasion to declare and in the most pointed Terms, that I have no object to solicit or to promote with relation to the Interests of the Company, excepting as they may be connected with his; that my sole objects are to manifest to the world at this particular time, the attachment of the Company and of the English Nation to promote his Interests and to know in what manner we may effect it.

4. For the Reasons assigned in the preceeding article I cannot give you my definitive Instructions. Hitherto we know nothing of the Political State of that Court, but from foreign and suspected Channels, your first Care must be to collect the materials of a more complete and authentick knowledge; you must study the Characters, Connections, Influence, and Power of the several Competitors for the Possession of the King's Favour or the Exercise of his authority, and the State, Views, and Relations of the independent Chiefs and States, whose Territories border on his.

5. I shall deliver you a letter for the sister of the deceased Nabob Nujif Khan,⁷ which you will deliver with Professions on my part of sorrow and Condolence on the Death of the Brother, with whom I have constantly maintained an Intercourse of Friendship on account of the Attachment which he had always manifested to my Employers. With Respect to any further Intercourse with the Family of Nujif Khan, you will consult your own discretion and the necessary Caution of avoiding whatever may furnish Occasion for Jealousy to that Interest, whichever it may be, which shall be established in the direction of the King's Affairs. If the Nabob Vizier should recommend Mirza Shuffy Khan,⁸ or any other Person whose Character may qualify him for succession to the Offices held by Nejif Khan, you will according to the promise made to the Vizier, second the Recommendation in my Name, and if you shall find the King inclined to it, but not otherwise, it will be proper to urge and support it with Earnestness. Take no Part in any other Competition and studiously avoid the appearance of having any.

6. It is possible that the King may recur to his ancient Claims to the Tribute of Bengal and to the Repossession of the Districts⁹ of Korah, Kurrah, and Allahabad. The Discussion of these Pretensions must be unpleasant and should therefore if possible be avoided, since it is not in my power to grant either one or the other. If you find it unavoidable the following are the Grounds which justify the Refusal of both. While the English possessed the Benefit of the King's Presence, and of the Influence which was attached to it, they were not deficient in the Duties of attachment, but adhered to him with a Constancy of which they had no Example

in any of his own Native subjects, and he derived from the Provinces of Bengal alone their Portion of the Tribute, which was due from all the Members of the Empire. Incited by the same Principles, they caused the Districts of Korah, Kurrah and Allahabad to be ceded for his use. But when he separated himself from them and put himself into the Hands of a Power that was hostile to their Ally the Nabob Shuja ul Dowlah, and dangerous to their Interests, and had actually transferred to it the Possession of those Districts, this Government was remediless. The Provinces of Bengal being deprived of his Protection, became oppressed with new difficulties and Exigencies, which required an application of all its Resources for their Relief. When they lost the Benefit of his Protection they were at the same time disabled of the means, and discharged from the obligation, of continuing the Payment of his Tribute. And by the Resumption of the Districts of Korah &ca. they only rendered abortive the Effects of the Compulsion which his Dignity had suffered but did nothing inconsistent with their own Acts Considered with the Motives on which they were grounded, but rather confirmed the first Grant by putting them into the Hands of his first constitutional Servant. At this Time the Revenue of Bengal is insufficient to support the many domestick and foreign Expences with which it is loaded, and this Government is under the necessity of Employing the original Resources and Credit of the Company in Aid of it. To pay the Tribute would be impossible, nor without the Commands of the Company have we the Power to allow it. The Districts of Korah &ca. are no longer in our Possession, having been assigned to the Vizier under the Faith and obligation of a Treaty.¹⁰

These are the arguments by which you might reply to such Claims, but I would rather avoid the Discussion.

7. If the King should desire a Military Force to be sent to his Aid or for his Protection, you will require to know the Service on which it is to be Employed, and the Resources from which it is to be paid; Perhaps these may be best and most readily provided by the Dismission of the Corps of Letafut Ally Khan,¹¹ and some of those Commanded by the European Refugees,¹² the son of Sumroo¹³ &ca. The Funds appropriated to their Pay, will be more than sufficient for that of any regular Corps which could be supplied from our Army.

8. You will endeavour by all means to inform yourself of the Designs and proceedings of all Foreign Agents residing at that Court; especially of the Vakeel of Hyder Ally Khan.

9. You may find it necessary to explain the nature of your Commission, if it shall be conceived to differ from others of a like kind. It is professedly limited to a Single Point, and of course to the Time required for effecting it, and that being effected you will demand your Dismission; if the King shall himself desire your continuance with him, he must propose it and you will acquiesce, not affecting to conceal that you have Instructions to that Purpose. This will of course render it necessary to change your appointment to that of a fixed Resident, and a Commission will be

granted you in form by the Collective Body of this Administration.

If any proposition shall be made to you for which these Instructions do not provide, you will decline to give any positive Declaration concerning it, however pressing the occasion may be, until you shall have referred it to me, and received my Instructions upon it.

Fort William,
August 20th, 1782.

I am Sir,
Your Most Obedient Servant,
Signed. Warren Hastings

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 2

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

Yesterday Evening I was introduced to his Excellency the Vizier by Mr. Bristow, and presented him with your Letter which he immediately read. On taking Leave of him, I remarked that it was your pleasure that I should leave this Place as soon as possible, and that therefore I hoped he would fix an early Time for honouring me with his Instructions which he said he would do.

I found that the safest Method of transmitting your address to his Majesty, was by the President's Dawk which I therefore pursued.

The affairs of Delhy are in such total confusion, that no probable Conjecture can be formed of their final Termination. Nujif Kouly Khan, Letafut Ally Khan,¹ and Monsieur Paul,² are with the Shah,³ and preparing to March with the eldest Prince Mirza Jewan Buckt, to settle the Country, but the Troops are mutinous from want of Pay, and the Shah so much at a loss how to raise Money, that he has pawned several of the Royal Jewels for a present supply. Mirza Shuffy Khan is in the Neighbourhood of Deig,⁴ endeavouring to collect a sufficient Force to make an attack on his Rivals, for this End he has also made overtures to Afrasiab Khan⁵ who remains still at Aly Ghur tho' constantly invited by the Party at Dehly to join them. Rajah Himut Bahadur is with the Rajah of Joypore, and Omrow Ghire has lately been with Afrasiab Khan. Every one in short, is pursuing a separate Plan without the smallest Regard to any thing beyond the convenience of the present view.

While all the Chiefs are in this confused and discordant State, the publick Enemies of the little Power remaining to the Royal Family are not idle, the Seekers have plundered the Country close to the City,⁶ and the Mewatties and Googirs, who are common Robbers, so totally infest the Country on every side not occupied by some one of the armies, that Travellers cannot pass from any one City to another; this

joined to the failure of the Harvest, has produced a Famine at Delhi⁷; so that the distresses of that Capital are extreme. This is the general description of affairs in that Quarter, and all I cannot venture to say till I have better Information than is procurable from Newspapers. With the greatest Respect,

Lucknow,
November 2nd, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 3

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

Mr. Bristow by the Vizier's desire has given me a Copy of his Excellencies [*sic*] Letter¹ to you dated the 4th of Shouban,² which contains his Excellency's plan for the arrangements which he wishes should be made at the Court of Delhy, and which he therefore means shall be the basis of his Instruction to me. As the Detail of that Letter is needless to you Hon'ble Sir, I shall only beg leave to recal to Mind that the two grand points contained in it are, the Nomination of Mirza Shuffy Khan to be Naib Vizier, and the soliciting from his Majesty the *Takud* of all the Country between the Rivers, from Shekohabad to the Hills of Sirinagur.

But whatever might have been the State of affairs at the Time his Excellency framed his Plan, at Present the attainment of these objects is rendered difficult by the Change in Mirza Shuffy Khan's Situation, and the Weight and Consideration now possessed by some of those whose Interest would be nearly affected by giving the Country in Question in *Takud* to the Nabob Vizier. Under such Circumstances an abrupt Proposal of the Vizier's Plan would produce an abrupt Refusal and of course an Exclusion from all future Hopes of Success. I have therefore recommended to his Excellency that my publick Instructions from him should be of a General Nature, but that he furnish me with a private Memorandum to be used as occasion shall afford, for reconciling the *Shah* to *Mirza Shuffy Khan* for which End I shall exert my most earnest Endeavours within the Limits of Restriction laid down in my Instructions, and I am willing to believe that they will not be fruitless, since his Majesty's Displeasure has I believe arisen from the Influence of inimical Advice, rather than any well grounded cause of Dislike.

It is doubtless a matter of great Importance both to the English and the Vizier that the Minister at Delhi should be our Friend, and when you consider the near Relation of Mirza Shuffy Khan to his Excellency,³ & the

obligation which he will have to him and to the English for their Mediation on this Occasion, there is every Reason deducible from the Operations of Gratitude and Interest, to believe that he may be depended upon in the Event of his success.

As to his Character I learn from every person from whom I have enquired, that it is fair and honourable beyond that of most Chiefs in Hindostan.

How earnestly he wishes for our Assistance you will perceive from the enclosed Copy of a Letter from him to Mirza Khaleil⁴ received yesterday and delivered to me by Mr. Bristow, and by the latter Part it appears that if it should be denied to him, he will throw himself into the arms of the Marhattas, which we should certainly do all that is in our Power to prevent at this Juncture. Upon these Grounds His Excellency's Instructions to me will be framed, and if his Majesty's Answer to me be an Invitation, as I expect, I shall immediately proceed to forward this Measure If I receive no Orders to the contrary. With the greatest Respect,

Lucknow,
12th November, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 3

1. Copy of a Letter from Mirza Mahomed Shuffee Khan Bahader to Mirza Kulleel written the 25th Zikaida 1196.

You will have learnt from the newspapers the Occurrences¹ of a new kind. My Friend! at the time that Kazim Ally Khan² was here Litafut Ally Khan was desirous to confine the said Khan and take something, I wrote and sent to Mehedy Koly Khan Bahader³ that he should not suffer this action of Litafut to proceed. Accordingly Khan Saheb did not permit this Business to proceed. The said Kazim Ally Khan will have written fully for the noble Gentleman Litafut retained the Idea of this Business in his Mind. Now that he came here he requested to have the Pargunna Saadabad⁴ and Feerozeabad and Shekoabad in his Jaidad. I said in answer that Saadabad and Ferozabad are fixed in the Jaidad of Raja Himmat Bahader; if for a few days the said Raja is gone what does it signify, he will at last return, and Shekoabad is in the Possession of the Nawab Vizier ul Momalik and the noble English Gentlemen, how can I give it? As the above named is really looking for Disputes and all these speeches were not free from wickedness, when he received a Denial from me about the said Mahals having sworn with Paul Fringuy and Ashoor Ally Khan⁵ he

intrigued about the King for Quarrels with the English and perverted the royal Mind that "such a person carried on great Intrigues with the English Gentlemen and has conceived rebellious thoughts towards the royal Presence; formerly something was paid into the Sircar by Kazim Ally Khan, he did not permit that I should take something from him ; now I was desirous of a Sunnud of Shikoabad in my own Jaidad, he does not give me the Sunnud of the said Pergunna out of regard to the System of friendship of the English Gentlemen ; we are the born Slaves of the royal Presence." As you properly know the state of King's disposition from the Seduction of the above named⁶ he was become [sic] on their Side. Accordingly on the 8th of this month⁷ when a third part of the night was unexpired these two ungrateful Persons prepared and armed their Battalions and going near to Jamahmusjed they stood there and made fortifications and Mousads in different places. I who did not conceive the Idea of such Disturbance⁸ from them was negligent. In the morning of the 9th of the said month when I learnt these riots and Disturbance how much so ever I considered with myself what could be the Cause of this Disturbance, I did not discover anyother cause besides their Quarrelsome Disposition and Ingratitude. I sent Daood Beg Khan to them⁹ that he should go and Argue with them. He alleged an Excuse which had not the least truth. Ashoor Ally Khan who had been told to bring Cannon for the attack of the fortifications answered that the Artillery men were not under his Orders, and of the other Battalions also, some from the Seduction of their Intrigues and some from necessity as the road for coming and staying was stopped¹⁰ by the Mounds, at that time none would join and they having made the King mourn brought him to Jamah Musjed.¹¹ In this situation knowing that no other advice except Deceit was proper for the time I took Mujed ud Dowla with me¹² and came out of the Town and remained standing until 9 in the morning¹³ near to the Kotella of Ferozeshah.¹⁴ As they made their own charge at the Gate of the Town and all the people of the Army assembled round them, being without remedy I went from thence¹⁵ and being arrived at Belungurra I came the next day to Koshy and fixed my residence. Till this day I reside at that place. About 7 or 8 thousand men are assembled and are assembling. I sent letters to Afrasiab Khan Bahader and Mahomed Beg Khan Bahader. Afrasiab Khan¹⁶ writes, Delays and [keeps] outward appearance. The particulars of him are from before well known; and Mahomed Beg Khan who is fixed in the District of the Country of the Rajapoots.¹⁷ how much so ever I have written to him to come speedily and by joining with me to remove and punish this Dispute, writes today and tomorrow and Delays and outward appearance because they have given him hopes of the Soubahdaree of Akberabad¹⁸ if he will delay and lengthen out his arrival. I am in this Cojitation and search that by whatever means it can be done I should join and invite these two Gentlemen with me and draw back the Water which has run past. When they being arrived shall join, by the blessing of God it is an easy Business, it is not very difficult. The Artillery of Government is as formerly in its proper place ; it is not gone into the

Power of the Rebels ; the Jemahdars and Golandaze of the Artillery on account of the bad Conduct of Ashoor Ally Khan have refused him.¹⁹ Many other people some from Intrigues and others from necessity and they now knowing the particulars of their Ingratitude did not join and are expecting my arrival. From the letters which come from the Presence it is learnt that his Majesty's Temper is vexed with those Rebels and he desires that anyhow he may get out of their power. If Afrasiab Khan and Mahomed Beg Khan forgetting the rights of their dignified stations should not join with me from the wicked Desires and infamous Words of treachery of those men and their own bad Dispositions, I will alone settle a Plan for the Defeat of these two Authors of Disturbance. In this case if the noble Gentlemen will work for the Assistance and support of me and will employ themselves in the Business, there is no Occasion for more than 4 or 5 Battalions. In whatever Way you may think it best make the Gentlemen inclined to this Business, and whatever Basic you may fix I am ready : I am in no Way separated from the Gentlemen. If it should be wise for me to come, write to me that I in person may come to the said Gentlemen. I have formerly conceived this Desire but I did not think it wise without informing the Gentlemen. On the subject of Assistance if the said Gentlemen should make Excuses about the King, the situation of the King is plain to the Gentlemen and also to you, that he is now in the power of these people ; where he shall obtain release from them at that time they will learn the particulars of the displeasure of his royal Mind towards them. In case the Gentlemen should not be inclined to this Business write back to me whatever may be advisable that I may act in conformity thereto ; otherwise I will from the want of remedy go to Mahajee Sindia who is praying to God for this Event. As the noble Gentlemen had a fixed system of friendship from antient time²⁰ with the deceased Nawab²¹ and they have continued with me also the same Line of Union, hereafter let them not accuse me saying why did you not give us Intellegence and why did you bring Sindia ? Therefore I beforehand write to you full information. Represent it to the Gentlemen in the manner which you may think wise, and without considering it trifling or waiting for a second Letter lay speedily whatever foundation may be to be laid, for this is not the Season of Delay and tardy Correspondence. Having soon learnt the Will of the Gentlemen inform me in an explicit Answer, because Time for Expectation is not left. To what length should I trouble you further ?

No. 4

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I have the Pleasure to inform you that the Shah's Reply to your Letter¹ came to me today, and I do myself the Honour to enclose it to you. At the same time I received his Majesty's Commands to attend him, and

I shall set out as soon as possible accordingly.

A copy of his Majesty's Shokah to me, I send for your Inspection

App. No 2. With the highest Respect,

Lucknow,
the 17th November, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to letter No. 4

2. Copy of a Royal Shooka from the King containing a Summons of Major Browne to the Presence.

Your Petition¹ came under the royal Sight. It is written with the Pen of Favor that coming single to the threshold of the Palace, you should represent to the royal Information without the Intervention of any other the requests of the royal Servant Amaud ud Dowla, Governor Bahader, and when I shall have listened with my ear Distinguishing rights to your Representations, you must perform whatever be the Duties of Service conformably to my powerful Orders, and obtain royal Favors.

No. 5

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

The Intelligence from Delhi has been so various, and the Circumstances which took place so undecisive, that I have not thought it proper to trouble you with a Relation of them. The news this moment arrived is of a more important and serious Nature ; I will therefore beg leave to communicate it and to recapitulate the Circumstances that connect it with the Intelligence I transmitted the 2nd Instant.

Mirza Shuffy Khan having been joined by Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany, marched towards Dehly¹ and arrived at Feridabad which is about 10 Coss from Dehly : Mahomed Beg Khan had at the same time his Vakeel at Court, who protested his Master's Loyalty and even pretended that his views were to solicit the Office of Meer Buckshy for himself, together with the Subadary of Acberabad. When he came nearer however, he declared his views to be the reconciling the Shaw to Mirza Shuffy Khan.

In the meantime the Shah hearing of their approach by the advice of Paul and Letafut Aly Khan, determined to take the Field himself to oppose them. The 13th of this Month He quitted the City, but on account

of the want of Pay the Troops assembled but slowly. Several Mutinies happened amongst the Sepoys of Paul and Letafut Aly Khan, but they were quieted by some money and many Provisions [promises?]. Afrasiab Khan to whom Paul had been sent to secure him to the Royal Party, sent some of his Troops and promised to follow with the Rest, but as yet he has not joined the Shah.

The 17. The two armies being near each other, and his Majesty having given a favourable Ear to the Proposal of Mahomed Beg Khan to reconcile Mirza Shuffy Cawn to his Majesty, Mahomed Yacoob Khan² was sent by the Shah to Settle all Preliminaries and Paul and Letafut were Ordered to go at the same time. Mahomed Yacoob Khan was very well received, but as it was near Evening when Paul and Letafut came near the Camp of Mahomed Beg Khan, and as they were said to have a large Force with them, he refused to receive them that Night, and showed great Distrust keeping his People under arms the whole Night. Paul and Letafut returned to their Camp, and on the Morning of the 18 they set out to meet Mahomed Beg Khan. He received them on his Elephant, they also were on their's, but no sooner had they approached him than his People surrounded their Elephants & drove them into his Camp. The troops on both sides immediately began to Skirmish and the Event was not known when the News came away; however it specifies that Paul is killed, but whether in cold Blood or during the Fight was not known; Letafut is yet alive. His Majesty on receiving Advice of this prepared to defend his Camp with the remaining Troops left him; Whether the confederates will rest satisfied with this sacrifice of their two Enemies, or whether they will proceed to attack the Shah, can only be known by the Event, of which I shall Immediately advice you. Nujef Kouly Khan intimidated by the approach of the confederates quitted his Majesty the 16th with his People and fled to his Jaidad at Kanode.

I shall set off from hence for Dehly the 23rd Instant. With the Greatest Respect,

Lucknow,
21st November, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true copy
H. Abbott

No. 6

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

The 21st Instant I had the Honour to forward to you the Intelligence from Dehly as far as to the 18 Instant. By the Intelligence of the 19 we learn

that after the confinement of Letafut and Paul (who was not killed as first reported) Mirza Shuffy Khan possessed himself of the City, and put a stop to all Egress and Ingress; he at the same time brought some Cannon against the Palace, and threatened to batter it in case the Nazeer¹ did not permit his Guards to be posted there; which however the Nazeer continued to refuse. Letafut's and Paul's House have been plundered and the widow of Sumroo has been Ordered by Mirza Shuffy to appoint some other Person to command her Battalions in the Place of Paul, and that he will then take them into his Service; The Vizier's Intelligence adds that the sister of Nujif Khan advised Mirza Shuffy to depose the Shah, and put one of the Princes upon the Throne, for that His present Majesty would some time or other destroy them all for their opposition to him & confining of Paul and Letafut: Accordingly they say that this was proposed to the Nazeer but that he refused.

While this happened in the City, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany made Letafut & Paul write to their troops which were in the Shah's Camp to separate themselves from the Rest of his Troops, and march to some Distance, & both Mahomed Beg Khan and Abdul Ahad Khan² (who is his Prisoner) wrote to his Majesty that as soon as those Battalions should be gone, both Mirza Shuffy and Mahomed Beg would pay their Respects to His Majesty. When the Peop[le] of those Battalions were informed of this, they told the Shah that if he chose to fight with his Enemies they were strong enough to conduct him to Afrasiab Khan's Camp, and were ready to do it; but that if he preferred complying with Mahomed Beg's Proposal, they expected some Persons from the Enemy as Hostages for their safety after they should be separated from the other Troops: His Majesty desired them to be satisfied, but would not consent to their first Proposition.

The Distresses in his Majesty's Camp from want of Provisions being very great, in the afternoon He sent his eldest Son to Mahomed Beg, and desired that whatever should be their determination they would make it speedily as his people were starving. The Confederates (for Mirza Shuffy went out to Mahomed Beg's Camp on the Occasion) received the Prince respectfully but said that till the Troops of Letafut & Paul, their Enemies, should leave the Shah's Camp they could not trust themselves there; and desired His Majesty not to delay about it. The Prince on his Return to his Father advised him immediately to comply, but the Troops of Letafut and Paul will not march till they have security from the Enemy for their safe Departure.

This being the State of affairs at the Court of Dehly, the Vizier, from whom I went this Morning to take leave, requested I would stay two or three days longer, till this Affair shall be settled, as it is not at present certain whether the Confederates will not proceed even to the Deposition of the Shah, which would necessarily alter the Nature of my Commission: and his Excellency thinks it would look better to stop here as by Choice than on the Road from Necessity: as his Reasons appear satisfactory, and as he

seemed very desirous that I should comply with his advice I have consented to remain here till the views of Mirza Shuffy are clearly evident, which I think must be in two or three days; when I shall immediately advise you. With the greatest Respect,

Lucknow,
Novr. 23rd, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servt.,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 7

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My address of the 23rd Instant gave you all the Information I could procure of the Transactions at Dehly as far as the 13th of Zilhega¹ from which the Danger of his Majesty's situation appeared to be imminent. The 14th passed in nearly the same manner, the Shah in the utmost Distress for Provisions and the confederates carrying on their Attacks on the Kellah & their negotiations with the Troops of Letafut and Paul; the Report still prevailing of their Determination to depose His Majesty.

The 15th. The appearance of things became a little more favourable, Afrasiab Khan having approached close to the Town and declared his Resolution to enforce a Reconciliation, the sister of Nejif Khan also begun to give Discouragement to Mirza Shuffy's designs against the Shah. The same day Mirza Shuffy and Hamdany visited Afrasiab Khan, and after consulting together returned to their Camp.

The 16. Thro' the Security of the several Commandants in Hamdany's Army, the Troops of Letafut and Paul Marched and encamped at Some Distance. Two Battalions and some Horse of the Confederates entered the Royal Camp. From that Instant every thing begun to wear the Aspect of Peace, Khelats were prepared for the Confederate Chiefs and Mirza Shuffy and the Begum wrote Letters to all the Aumils of his Majesty's Districts who had fled to return to their Stations.

The 17th passed in preparations, but the 18th² the Confederates paid their Respects to His Majesty, and Received Khelats suitable to their respective Ranks: after which they all attended his Majesty back to the Kellah. This being the State of affairs at Delhy I have obtained his Excellency's Dismission, and leave this Place for the Shah's Court the 1st

of December. With the greatest Respect,

Lucknow,
29th November, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your most Obedt. Humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 8

TO Major James Browne

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 8th Instant, my having since had the Honor to communicate with you personally, was the Reason of my omitting to reply to it.

In explaining the Vizier's Views at the Court of Dehly it will be unnecessary for me to enter into a detail of the State of affairs, as I have already furnished you with every Information that has come to my knowledge.

The Family Connection subsisting between Mirza Shuffy Khan and the Vizier, has rendered his Excellency desirous of supporting the Pretensions of his Relation in Preference to those of any other of the Chiefs. The great uncertainty of the event of the present Troubles at Dehly requires that the Vizier should be very circumspect in publickly espousing any party. To act decidedly would require exertions which his affairs could not admit, and therefore I beg leave in Behalf of the Vizier to recommend it particularly to your Attention to preserve an appearance of strict Neutrality until such time as Mirza Shuffy may be firmly established, and then openly to declare in his Favour.

The unsettled State of the Vizier's Dominions, and the doubts entertained of the Intentions of the Marhattas require that every possible Precaution should be taken to Subside all Suspicions of our engaging in conquests.

From the hopes held forth to Mirza Shuffy on a former Occasion, he may have Reason to expect immediate support. It will be a difficult task for you to secure his Attachment to the Vizier after what He may interpret into a Breach of Promise; the Means of doing this and of preserving the appearance of Neutrality at the Court of Dehly, His Excellency rests entirely on your Discretion.

I beg leave to inform you, Mahajee Sindia has written me a very friendly Letter¹; his Vakeel² urges his Master's earnest wish to unite with the English in an Expedition to make conquests of the Countries in the Possession of the King. This subject has been repeatedly mentioned to me by all Persons at this Court acquainted with Sindia's Character or Connected with him. It is possible he means to make this a Blind to Designs he may have entertained against the Vizier or the Company and I therefore think it my duty to inform you of it. The great

anxiety with which it has been forced upon my attention makes me recommend it to you. From the Facts and Opinions which may be submitted to the Governor General by Mr. Anderson³, yourself and me, he may form his Judgement of Sindia's Intentions.

I enclose you the Vizier's Credentials to his Majesty as also Letters to Alyan Culloo Khan, and Munzoor Aly Khan, Nazir—the two Latter are Persons in Office about the Person of the King, and as such may be useful to you ; you may also consult with them, and not endanger the Line of Neutrality the Vizier has thought proper to follow.

I also enclose you Letters for the late Nujif Khan's Sister, Mirza Shuffy Khan, Afrasiab Khan, which are of Course to be delivered or not according to the Situation of affairs at the time of your Arrival at Dehly, of which you only can be the Judge.

His Excellency's Commands regarding the Payment of Money or the Assistance of Troops, are all comprised under the Head of Neutrality. He relies upon your Address to Satisfy the King of his Fidelity and obedience, when time and Circumstances may render any Exertions prudent or possible. I can only say you have yourself heard the Vizier declare that he will upon all occasions accommodate his Views to the Interests of the Company. When you may arrive at Dehly and shall have acquainted me with the means in his Excellency's Powers of accomplishing any Points to give Weight and Consequence to your Negotiations, I shall on all Occasions be happy to support your Representations, and obtain a favourable answer.

I enclose you an application to Colonel Sir John Cumming⁴ for an escorte, and have the Honour to be,

Sir,

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,

Signed. John Bristow

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,

November 30th, 1782.

A true copy

H. Abbott

No. 9

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I had the Honour to inform you of my receiving my Dismission from his Excellency in my address of the 29 Ultimo. I arrived at this place to day.

Since the 18 of Zelhiga¹ the State of affairs at Dehly has been very unsettled. The Promise made by Mirza Shuffy Khan to Mahomed Beg Khan² to induce him to afford his assistance to reestablish Mirza Shuffy, having remained unperformed, great Dissensions arose between them which very nearly came to an open Rupture. It seems principally to have been

prevented by the Moderate advice of the Shah and Mujidul Dowlah. The last Intelligence says that Mahomed Beg Khan is now satisfied and preparing to return to his Jaidads, but it adds that Mirza Shuffy and the Begum doubting his Sincerity, are preparing to follow him, to prevent any Designs he may have against the Districts in the Province of Agra.

Some Papers say that Mahomed Beg Khan has just put Paul to Death and blinded Letafut Aly Khan⁸ but it is not yet confirmed, nor is any Cause assigned for it, I therefore hope it is without foundation.

I expect to leave this Place the . . . Instant. With the greatest Respect.

Feroockabad,
December 9th, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 10

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I have the Honour to enclose you a Shoka from his Majesty, which I received to day, and with it. One addressed to myself, directing me not to proceed any further. I enclose a copy of it for your Appendix No. 3. Inspection, by which you will perceive that the Reason assigned for this Change in his Majesty's Resolution, is the Reconciliation of the Sirdars in his Service¹, but the real Cause is contained in the Paper of Intelligence No. 3, which arrived before the Shokas, from which it appears that his Majesty has written them from the last degree of Compulsion, and that the opposite Party have made Mujid ul Dowlah the Channel of Conveyance for those Letters, in order to render the English suspicious of him, because the other Party knows that he has always endeavoured to connect himself with us.

It is not surprising that Mirza Shuffy should be jealous of us, and disgusted with our Conduct towards him, as well as the Vizier's. Since both one and the other have made Promises to him which have never been performed respecting the Neabut to the Vizier²; and in his late difficulties all his solicitations for our assistance or his Excellency's were in vain, he was left to extricate himself as He could, and having succeeded, we have no Reason to expect that he will have much cordiality towards us for our temporizing Conduct.

You will observe Hon'ble Sir that His Majesty desires the Presents may be forwarded to him, but in my Reply, of which the Persian Paper App. No. 4. No. 2. is a copy, I have informed His Majesty that I cannot forward them without orders from you Hon'ble

Sir, which I therefore request to be Honored with, as well as with Instructions for my future Guidance, till Receipt of which I shall remain at this Place.

The Intelligence contained in my last respecting the Fate of Paul and Letafut Aly Khan, has been confirmed, with the additional Circumstance that Mahomed Beg put Paul to death with his own Hand. They are all now encamped, with Intention to March to Agra : Mujid ul Dowla is left with the Shah but Mirza Shuffy has given the Command of the Troops left at Dehly to his Brother Mirza Zein ul Abedien Khan, so that Mujid ul Dowla will not dare to do any thing which will be disagreeable to the other Party.

What steps are proper to be taken on this Occasion, I wait with anxiety to know. With great Respect,

Ferockabad,
12th December, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 10

3. Copy of a royal Shooka to Major Browne forbidding him to come to the Presence.

Your Petition has come under the royal Sight. Whatever you requested on the subject of your departure with the Nuzir and the Presents sent by the Governor Bahader to the Presence became plain to the royal Mind. Because the disagreement which had come between the Princes and Grandees of the eternal Dignity has at this time by the royal Presence been made into Agreement¹ and reconciliation between them, therefore it is written with the Pen of favor that immediately on the arrival of the royal Shooka you must return from whatever place you may be advanced to and conformably to the royal pleasure make no Intention of coming further, and send to the royal Threshold the said Presents, and for the present be employed in the Company's Business, because your coming to the Presence is not proper.²

4. Copy of a Petition in Answer to a Shooka of the royal Presence Written the 6th Mohurrean 1197 Hijree.¹ The petition of Major Browne the faithful Servant.

A Royal Shooka ordering me to Stop at the Place to which I might

have come and to dispatch the Presents sent by Governor General Hastings Bahader arrived with a Shooka addressed to the Governor on the 6th Mohurrean at Furruckabad and exalted me to the height of Dignity. Accordingly I forwarded to Calcutta on the same Date the Shooka addressed to the Governor, and in Obedience to your Majesty's Orders I have stopped. Your majesty should know that the English Gentlemen have never tried to send any Person to the enlightened Presence. As the royal Orders had twice come² with peremptory Commands thro' the Nawab Vizier ul Momalik Asoph ud Dowla Bahader for the Settlement of the Country and the removal of the Disputes and Differences which had arrisen after the Death of the Nawab Zoolficar ud Dowla Nejif Khan deceased, therefore they chose me to Kiss the royal threshold, that after obtaining the Glory of an Introduction I should in person discover the State of your royal Court and the Desires of the enlightened Heart and give Information thereof, that they might be active and zealous in Obedience conformably to what the advice of the Time should require. God is witness whether the English Gentlemen have omitted any point of Duty and Attachment or whether they have kept in view their good and advantage. Solely for Strengthening and Maintaining the Concerns of the Kingdom and for elevating the Standard of Dignity and Victory and for proving their proper allegiance which is firm towards your Majesty and is known and public to all high and low of Hindostan I being come from Calcutta to Lucnow forwarded to the enlightened Presence the Arzie of the Governor with a Petition from myself and an Arzie of the Nawab Vizier ul Momalik Bahader to this Purport that I should be authorized for the Negotiation on the Part of the Nawab Vizier also,³ and a royal Shooka ordered me to accelerate the happiness of kissing the Threshold. In obedience to those Orders being advanced to Furruckabad I was honored and exalted by the Shooka of prohibition. It is plain that the faithful Allegiance of the English Gentlemen and the Nawab Vizier Bahader, which is firm and stedfast towards your Majesty, and who never deviated a hair's Breadth from the high road of Obedience, is not approved or acceptable to your Majesty. On this Point the Line of Concurrence depends on the royal Orders. What was ordered about sending the presents to the royal presence, I have made it known to the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader, whatever may be written on this Subject I shall perform, and I shall have the Honor to give Information thereof to the enlightened Presence.

No. 11

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My Dear Sir,

I have this day private Intelligence from Dehly, that since the departure of Mahomed Beg Khan, the Party who jointly with him forced the Shah to direct me to halt, have changed their sentiments, and incline to

invite me again : whatever steps they may take I shall not now proceed without your orders, but I write you this that you may either allow such an Interval of Delay to your Public Reply as shall enable you to know their Sentiments since that [firebrand ?] Hamdany has departed, or in the Reply you are pleased to give me, let me be provisionally instructed to resume the Embassy in Case of the Shah, the Begum, and Mirza Shuffy uniting to request it, as I begin to think they will very soon. Be assured dear Sir, I will not relinquish the smallest Tittle of your Dignity, or that of the Nation, and if I do proceed after the discretional Authority may be vested in me, it shall not be without the pressing Invitation of all Parties, and as an Instance of great Affection from our Government to his Majesty. Consider of these two Proposals my dear Sir and Honour me with your Commands.

With the greatest Respect & Attachment,

Ferrockabad,
December 16th, 1782.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 12

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My Dear Sir,

I have Information this day of the Shah's having written & dispatched two Shokahs, the one for you & the other for myself. As they are not said to be in Reply to my last address to his Majesty, and as indeed that could scarcely have been arrived at the time these Shokas were written ; I conclude they contain some requisition different from the last, and tending to the End I mentioned in my Letter to you of the 16th. As soon as they arrive, I shall lose no time in advising you.

From this and many other little collateral Circumstances, I think they will very soon all unite in requesting me to proceed. Let me beg therefore that I may be furnished with your provisional Instructions in time. With the greatest Respect &ca,

Ferrockabad,
December 20th, 1782.

I am My Dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 13

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca &ca

Hon'ble Sir,

Enclosed I have the Honour the send you a Shokah this Moment received from his Majesty. With it there came One for myself which being a Repetition of the former one, I have only acknowledged the Receipt of.

Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany is again near Agra, after receiving his Khelat of Dismission from the Shah. He waited on the Begum, sister to Nujif Khan to receive her's also but some Dispute arising between them on the subject of some Troops of Nujif Khan's which had been first under the Command of Hamdany in Nujif Khan's Life time, and which the Begum was desirous of getting back; he left the Durbar in a Rage and went away without receiving his Khelat; He professes however great attachment to the Begum and Mirza Shuffy, but his Troops have committed great Enormities on their March.

The Begum has returned to her House, and Mirza Shuffy is also in the Town, but his Troops are encamped. They have sent great part of their Artillery down the Jumna to Agra, but their views are not yet clearly understood: It is generally thought that a Breach with Hamdany must Happen.

Mirza Shuffy has disbanded the Corps of Letafut Ally Khan, and the Battalions of Gungaram, Bowanny Sing and Syed Ally: I believe as much from want of Money as of Confidence. With the Highest Respect,

Ferrockabad,
December 23rd, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servt.,
Signed. James Browne

A true copy
H. Abbott

No. 14

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca

Hon'ble Sir,

I have the Honor to inform you that the Begum and Mirza Shuffy having renewed their Importunity to his Majesty for Permission to March to Agra, and the Begum in particular having Obstinateley rejected the advice of every Person who endeavoured to dissuade her from the Design, (amongst others of Mahomed Beg Hamdany who wrote from Agra to the same Effect and added that he should consider her going thither as arising from unmerited Suspicion of him) His Majesty at last was forced to Consent and to send one of the Young Princes, named Solyman Sheko,

with them. The pretended Motive of this is, to support their Party by this Mark of the Royal Favour ; but the real One is, to have a Pledge for the Shah's not endeavouring to regain his Independance during their Absence by Means of the English and the Vizier.

They received their Dismission the 23rd Instant on which occasion the following Nominations were made or Confirmed Vizt.,

Mirza Shuffy—Amirul Omra & Subhadar of the Province of Agra

Mujed ul Dowlah—Dewan of the Kalsa and to act as Naib Vizier

Mirza Zein ul Abedien—To Command the Army to act jointly with Zabita Khan against the Seiks

Mehdy Kouly Khan—Naib Bucksey

Afrasiab Khan—Second Buckshy and Supervisor of the Shah's Tunkah Lands.

Besides many subordinate appointments not with [worth] troubling you with the Relation of.

Some of the Pindarries of Sindia's Army have crossed the Chumbul and plundered a part of Dolpoor which is in the Jaidad of Mahomed Beg Hamdany, who is alarmed lest they should proceed further towards Agra, where he is. Mirza Shuffy Marched from Dehly the 23rd Instant. With the greatest Respect,

Ferrockabad,
December 26th, 1782.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Signed. James Browne

A true copy
H. Abbott

No. 15

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My Dear Sir,

I have several Times mentioned my Hopes that you would in Reply to the Letters I have written, give me a Conditional Authority to proceed to Dehly if all Parties there should write to solicit it, as I thought they would. I hope it has long since been dispatched, but if it should not before this reaches you, let me beg dear Sir, that it may be immediately, for I have every Reason to be convinced that they will very soon unite in the Request perhaps in a day or two. I find the Cause of their suspicions and consequent Request to the Shah to prevent my proceeding, was the Idea of my going up with the Detachment here, which arrived about the same time that they heard of my leaving Lucknow; on which they remonstrated to his Majesty that such a Force going up was likely to be attended with the worst consequences, for that even admitting that we went as Friends to the Shah's Servants the Expences of the Troops must be paid and that alone would ruin them all, especially the Family

of Nejif Khan, who would be considered, as the principal Persons of that Government; that therefore it was expedient for his Majesty to stop me *and my Troops* from advancing : It was under this Impression that the *Shokas* were written as well as the Letters from Mirza Shuffy and Mehdy Kouly Khan to Mirza Khateel, which Mr. Bristow will have sent you copies of ; for it is not above ten days since they have been undeceived as to the Circumstances of the Troops, by a Person whom I sent up to deliver the Letters which I had from His Excellency for the Sardars there, as I should not have any opportunity of doing it myself : As this Man was well acquainted with Mujidul Dowlah he waited on him; The old Gentleman questioned him respecting me (having previously sent for Mirza Shuffy's Brother Mehdy Kooly Khan) and *my Army*. A very few words explained the Matter and convinced them that the Army existed only in their Imaginations ; They then explained on this Side the Causes of their apprehensions and Consequent Conduct, and desired my Servant would explain it to me, and inform me that they would write Mirza Shuffy and the Begum on the subject, and as soon as their answer should arrive, they doubted not to send me such an one as should be satisfactory to me: My Man upon this told them (agreeably to my orders) that nothing could now be done without your Consent, as I had sent you an Account of every thing, and waited only for your Orders to return to Calcutta : This had the desired Effect, they were surprised at the nature of the Reply, and requested my Servant would write me in such Terms as should induce me to explain the affair to you, and not to proceed down, even tho' you might order it, till you might have an opportunity of knowing the Reputation they had made for their Error. Abdul Abed [Ahad] Khan in particular expressed his Respect and Esteem for you, in the strong[est] Terms, and tho' a Cashmirian, his sincerity is not to be questioned, since I have little Doubt of their [mee?]ting their Promises on this occasion, because it is evidently for their Interest to do so, and as our Honour at last [least], if not our Interest is now concerned that this Embassy should be admitted, I hope they will : That I may be able to act in the best Manner, let me repeat my solicitation for the conditional authority : Rely on my Caution Dear Sir, in the use of it.

Report at Dehly says that the Peace with Poonah is concluded¹. I hope it is true with all my Heart ; as a Proof they allege the Poonah Merchants writing to their Correspondents at Dehly to Send Goods as every thing is again at Peace : However I hear nothing of it from Mr. Anderson nor from Calcutta.

The State of affairs with Mirza Shuffy is briefly this : He is now in the Neighbourhood of Deig with the Prince Solyman Sheko and the Begum, but he cannot collect any Money, for during the disputes among the Sardars, all the Principal Zemindars have withheld their Revenues and got into their strong Holds, from whence they can only be driven by Mirza Shuffy's Army ; but that army will not fight till paid ; and unluckily they cannot be paid without first fighting, so that his situation is a very

distressful one ; add to this that Mahomed Beg and he are near at open War, while Sindia demands His Chout from the Dominions formerly subject to the Jauts, and the Sicks have overrun the upper Part of the Doab^a : Thus situated the Vizier and English are the only Powers from whom [whom] he can hope for any support. This I dare say has not escaped their observation, and Perhaps had a considerable share in producing this charge [change] of Conduct. The Conditional Authority now, Dear Sir—
With the greatest Respect &ca.,

Ferrockabad,
January 9th, 1783.

I am My Dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 16

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My Dear Sir,

Since I did myself the Pleasure of writing to you yesterday, I have considered the Probability there is of your being prevented from answering the Letters I write in time and the consequent Delay I must undergo after I may re[ceive] the Invitation of the Sardars at Dehly. I have therefore . . [resolved?] that if this Invitation should arrive and I have no Letter from you in answer to Mine of the 9th Instant, in due time, that [is] by the 3rd of February, I shall conclude that you approve of my proposal, and shall proceed Accordingly. With the greatest Respect,

Ferrockabad,
January 10th, 1783.

I am My Dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 17

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

The enclosed in [is] the Copy of a letter written by Mujed ul Dowlah to you, which left Dehly four days ago by a pair of Cossids, dispatched expressly with it. As soon as it arrives, I shall do myself the Pleasure of forwarding it to you : In the Interim you will perceive by the Copy that

he looks upon my going to Dehly as a matter past doubt.

The Seiks have plundered several Places on this side Dehly ; and the News papers say that they are on their way from Kurjah to Korin Gunge not much above 40 Coss from hence.

Mirza Shuffy and Mahomed Beg Hamdany are within seven or 8 Coss of each other ; and it is universally believed that they will within a few days come to Hostilities ; Mahomed Beg is so entirely persuaded of it that he has sent his Baggage and Camp Followers into the City of Agra. Afrasiab Khan joined Mirza Shuffy some days ago. With the greatest Respect &ca.,

Ferrockabad,
January 20th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true copy
H. Abbott

No. 18

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

The Minds of Mirza Shuffy and his Friends have at length come to the Point which I expected they would as soon as they should be satisfied that no Evil would attend their Interests from the Communication of our Nation with the Shah. The enclosed Copies of the Letters I this day received from the Begum and Mirza Shuffy¹, will present you with the strongest and Most unqualified Invitation of me to Court, and in the same Terms they have written to the Shah that He may direct me to proceed. The Begum also enclosed a letter for you, which I have the honour to forward.

Mirza Shuffy and the Begum are very desirous that I should go by Agra, and have a Meeting with Mirza Shuffy before I go to the Presence. They however do not make it a condition of their Friendship, but express their desire of it as a proof of mine. In Reply I have Informed them that as my Mission is to the Shah, I cannot take the step they desire without his Authority, however desirous I may be of the Honour of their Acquaintance : but that I hope they will take care that his Majesty may signify this to be his Pleasure in the Shokah which he has Ordered to be written to me directing me to proceed to the Presence ; and I have written to Mujed ul Dowlah that I think their Request should be complied with, if to his Majesty it seem proper, for in fact besides Mirza Shuffys and the Begums wish, which I would desire to comply with there is now no other Road passable but that by Agra owing to the Incursions of the Seiks, So that willing or otherwise I must go that way, and it is therefore certainly

better to do it with a good than a bad Grace.

By the time the Shokah arrives I shall have also received the answer I expect from you dear Sir, or your Silence will serve in place of it; and I consequently shall set off immediately.

Thus is this delicate Business concluded by the Single step which I mentioned in my Letter of the 9th Instant; I mean sending the Letters I had for the Sirdars there without adding any Thing further than that I sent them because I should not have an opportunity of going there in Person: The Letters spoke for themselves and the little Account I seemed to make of the Impediments thrown in my way, convinced them that I had no self interested views to forward, at the same Time that it supported the Dignity of our Government from being affected by any answer which might be sent: This is the state of the Fact, and I hope you will approve of the steps which I have taken on the Occasion.

There is now some appearance of Mirza Shuffy and Mahomed Beg's coming to Terms by the good Management of the Begum; they have had a Meeting and are encamped together: in a few days I shall inform you of the Result. With the greatest Respect &c.,

Ferrockabad,
January 25th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 18

5. Copy of a Letter from Bukshee ul momalik Ameerul Omrah Nassir ud Dowla Mirza Mahomed Shuffee Khan Bahader to Mayeen ud Dowla Major Browne Bahader.

Formerly an Arzie of the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader Jelladut Jung arrived for the enlightened Presence to this purport that from learning the Disputes at the royal Presence which had come forth after the death of the Nawab Zoolficar ud Dowla deceased his Heart had been distracted, that therefore he had sent you to the enlightened Presence that having learnt the hidden Thoughts of the royal Mind you should write that we may attend at the royal Presence, in Case any tranquility should have been obtained that you should employ yourself in the Company's Business.¹ At that time his Majesty had his fortunate Tents near to Khuzerabad,² and I on account of some Causes³ was at Koshy. Upon learning his Majesty's departure⁴ we attended at the royal Presence with other Grandees;⁵ thro' the mediation of the kingly favors the hatreds and Quarrels at the Presence were removed: and I and the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla became pleased by comprehending the royal Kindnesses.⁶ He

has written a royal Shooka in answer to your Arzies that the Disputes at the illumined Presence having been settled you should employ yourself in the Company's Business at that place, and I and the said Nawab also we did not think it proper to request of the Presence anything contrary. Now that your agreeable letter with one from the Nawab Vizierulmomalik Bahader is arrived at Delhi thro' the Hands of Sullahuddeen Khan⁷ he sent them in the original to me. The Contents thereof that you have a Desire of an Interview with me were cause of pleasure to my Heart : it is very proper and advisable because there is no manner of distinction from the noble Gentlemen. What necessity is there to write about the friendship and affection which the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Bahader Jelladut Jung had for the Nawab Zoolficar ud Dowla deceased ? you are well informed of it ; and the deceased Nawab also studied the pleasure of the Gentlemen ; and afterwards when friendly letters came to me from the Gentlemen the Union and Kindness which the Gentlemen possess was learnt from the Contents of them ; therefore my one Heart became a thousand Hearts. I shall soon arrive at Akbarbad⁸ and I shall be at a small distance from you : You must come because I am desirous of seeing You After an Interview if in mutual Consideration it should appear wise we will go in conjunction to the enlightened Presence, or you shall first depart towards the royal Presence, and I will for a short time employ myself in the out Country for the Settlement of the Kingdom.⁹ There is really no Distinction from the English Gentlemen. I have this thought that the Friendship may daily encrease and that what proportion of Affection of the noble Gentlemen was expended towards the Nawab Zoolficar ud Dowla deceased, more than that may now be preserved. Considering me certainly to be employed in friendship to the Gentlemen make me happy by an Interview.

* Copy of a Letter from the Beghum Sister of the Nawab Nejif Khan¹ deceased to Major Browne containing a Summons.

Your agreeable Letter having happily arrived delighted my Heart and made me fully acquainted with its Contents. That in consequence of the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor General Hastings Bahader's sending you with an intention to kiss the royal Threshhold and to make known many Concerns You are arrived at Furrackabad, and that it has happened that you have been delayed there sometime, and that you have forwarded the Nawab's Letters² with Sullah ud deen Khan, all these particulars were learnt from the Contents of it. As between the Nawab and my deceased Brother a system of friendship and affection beyond bounds existed, and now the Articles of it are more than formerly looked after, if you had come during the time of my being at Delhi every point should have been settled in Conformity to the Nawab's Letter. Now that

* This enclosure bears no number

I with my beloved Son the Nawab Ameerul Omrah Nassir ud Dowla Mirza Mahomed Shuffee Khan Bahader Zoolficar Jung are come towards Akberabad,³ do you also come to the same place that by mutual Consideration should the going of my Son the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader to the enlightened Presence be determined upon it is well, or if not you will go first to the enlightened Presence and my said Son will employ himself in settling the Country. After your arrival in every way it shall be executed with your Advice.

No. 19

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

I have now the Honour to enclose the Letter from Mojid ul dowlah, mentioned in my address of the 20th Instant : As he has from the first manifested the greatest attachment to our Nation, and it is principally owing to his good sense and Moderation, that the Prejudices of the other Chiefs have been removed, I beg leave to suggest the Propriety of an Immediate Reply to his Letters. First Impressions go deep, and if we were to begin by neglecting those who shew friendly disposition to us, it would afford least unfavourable Presages of our future Conduct.

I am this day honoured by your Sentiments thro' Major Davy, which are just what I wished them to be, and I shall now have no further occasion to trouble you. Had not the case of his Majesty's Prohibition exceeded the Limits of my Instructions, I should not have written you about it : Every thing now will I trust go on smoothly. With the greatest Respect &ca.

Ferrockabad,
January 28th, 1783.

I am My Dear Sir,
Your Most faithfully [*sic*] Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 19

6. Extract of a Letter from Major Davy to Major Browne Dated Calcutta January 16th, 1783.

My Dear Browne,

"Our Friend the Governor has directed me to give you half a Dozen lines which are to stand as a Reply to your Letters. He has no time to answer them—indeed—no time to read them, He wishes you to act agreeably to the Instructions which you have already received. New

ones are unnecessary. Your Object is to proceed to Delhi if you can.—it appears that you can.—and He is desirous that you should. — in a word, you are to proceed to Delhi if you are able, and this is the sum of the Answer which I have in charge to communicate to you.”

A true Extract
James Browne

No. 20

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

Herewith I have the Pleasure to send you a Shokah just received from his Majesty Shah Alum together with a Letter from the Nabob Mujed ul Dowlah,¹ both to your address.

I also enclose the Copy of his Majesty's Shokah to me, conformably to which I shall set off from hence the 7 Instant and proceed to the Presence by Way of Agra as his Majesty is pleased to direct. With the greatest Respect,

Ferrockabad,
February 5th, 1783.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your Most Obedient Hble. Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 20

7. Copy of a Royal Shooka¹ to Major Browne to this purport that first being honored with an introduction to the Royal Prince Mirza Solyman Sheko Bahader² and having had an interview with Ameer ul Omra Nawab Nassir ud Dowla Bahader he should come to the royal Presence.

The Petition which you sent came under the royal Eyes and obtained the Perusal of Majesty, and whatever you represented that the English Chiefs had sent you to the royal Palace solely for the Management of the Country and the removal of disputes and Disagreements, all these particulars as represented became known to my Mind governing the World. The System of sincere Allegiance of Ameer ul momalik Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Bahader Jelladut Jung and all the English Chiefs had from a long Time been recorded in my exalted Mind, and I know you also to be a stedfast welwisher and really attached to the Royal Presence. Formerly looking to the advice of the Times and the Exigency of many Concerns I wrote to you about stopping, but at last when my old Slave

Sheik Sullah ud Deen Khan came to the enlightened Presence and it became known to me that the Summoning you to the royal presence would give pleasure to the Heart of Ameer ul Momalik Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Governor Bahader and you, therefore it is written with the Pen of Favor that you may come to the enlightened presence having first gone to my son the royal and noble Prince Mirza Mahomed Solyman Sheko Bahader and having had an Interview with Ameer ul Omra Nassir ud Dowla Bahader.—And by the Blessing of God you will after your Arrival at the royal Presence see with your own Eyes my unbounded favors. For the rest knowing the kindnesses of royalty to be attached to you dispatch Arzies to the royal Palase until you obtain the glorious Introduction.

No. 21

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca.

My Dear Sir,

My Publick letter of this date will convey to you the Shah's Sentiments, and the adv[ice] of my intended Departure the App. No. 8. 7 Instant in addition to which I now beg leave to send you a copy of Mujed ul Dowlah's Letter to me with the Shokah. For the Reasons urged in my last letter permit me to point out the Propriety and Policy of your sending him and his Majesty answers tho'[thro'] me as soon as possible: The attachment of this old Statesman to our Nation, so far as for him to wish for a Body of our Troops to be employed in his Majesty's Service and support, I firmly believe, because it is the only Means he has of rendering hi[m]self safely Master of any Degree of Power; for any attempt to raise Troops himself would immediately attract the jealousy and produce the opposition of the other Chiefs, with whom he is in no condition to contend; he therefore will not attempt it by that Means, but he thinks he may securely support our Views of assisting the Shah without the incurring the jealousy of the other Chiefs, and by his early Advances to us he hopes to secure our future friendship and Protection in the Shah's favour. These Dear Sir, are his views and I therefore am convinced that by a proper attention to him we may be certain of receiving in Return, the utmost support he is capable of affording us to whatever Views we may have in that Quarter. This Matter is so very obvious that a few Minutes attention must I think suffice for carrying the conviction of it to the Mind, and if I am not Mistaken, that attention will lead to what I began with recommending—a speedy Reply to Mujed ul Dowlah's Letters. With the greatest Respect &ca.,

Feroekabad,
February 5th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 21

8. Copy of a Dispatch of the Nawab Muced ud Dowla Bahader to the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Major Browne Bahader in a style of Friendship.

Your friendly Letter of the 27th Suffer¹ was Cause of pleasure to my Heart, and I returned Thanks to God for your Health and well doing. It was written that you ascribe the strength of Affection between You and the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader to my friendship; that You before this had Expectation of affection from me and that you have made the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader properly acquainted with the particulars of my Friendship and Exertions, and accordingly Connection will now be formed between the said Nawab and me. My Friend from 10 or 12 years² I consider myself as on behalf of the said Nawab³ at the enlightened Presence, and whatever I wrote thro' Colonels Muir⁴ and Polier⁵ to the said Nawab before the unfortunate Event⁶ which you know it is fully understood and known by the said Nawab. Accordingly I always wrote this to the said Nawab that whenever a Chief should be in attendance on his Part at the enlightened Presence, the truth of my Friendship and Sincerity would appear to him as visible as the Sun. God be praised that you are still at Furrackabad, and having learnt in your purified Mind which is the Gift of God every particular of the affection of my Heart You have written them to the said Nawab. I am convinced that the friendship and Kindness of the said Nawab towards me will now daily encrease, and on the day which you will have an Interview with me (and now by the blessing of God the time for an Interview is arrived) You will be so much employed in Friendship to me that you will not find one moment of separation possible. Before this a royal Shooka in answer to your Arzie was issued that delaying some time at that place you shall apply to the Company's Affairs. The issuing of that Shooka was on account of the Advice of the Times. Afterwards I wrote to the Nawab Ameerul Omra Bahader that the strengthening of Friendship and to be employed in procuring the Satisfaction of the Nawab Governor Bahader and maintaining Sincerity with you was most advisable for him. Accordingly the said Nawab has written letters containing his Desire of an Interview. You have written to me that you are expecting a royal Shooka; therefore having procured a royal Shooka to your Address I have delivered it to the Khan⁷ who is from his Heart a Wellwisher to you. Immediately upon the arrival of the royal Shooka You must be in Motion: you must not make a delay of one Instant, and you must consider me to be with my Eye on the road of Expectation; You must be convinced that on the Day when I shall hear that you are departed in Health I will make adorations of Gratitude to the Almighty. May God produce that day when I shall hear the happy News of the Departure of the said Nawab whose Deputy I am,⁸ and when with my own Eyes I shall see him. The rest You will learn from the Writing of the Khan.

Written in his own Hand

My Sincerity is known to God, and after an Interview You also will learn it. Whatever the Khan may request you must approve of it, that an Interview may speedily take place.

No. 22

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

In my address of the 25th Ultimo I had the Pleasure of informing you that there was an appearance of Reconciliation between Mirza Shuffy and Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany. This peaceable aspect continued for several days, but after the Junction of Afrasiab Khan and Raja Himut Behader, Mirza Shuffy thought himself in a condition to talk in a firmer style to Hamdany and in particular to make him give up the Pergunnahs of Ferozabad and Syedabad, which he had laid hold of during the Trouble; Tho' they had been given by Nujif Khan to Rajah Himut Behader as a *Jaidad*: upon this Hamdany taxed him with Breach of Promise respecting those Places, and also respecting 20 Pieces of Cannon and 5 Lacks of Rupees which were promised to Hamdany¹ upon the assistance which He afforded to Mirza Shuffy in November last; and after several Efforts had been ineffectually used to reconcile Hamdany to the Surrender of Ferozabad and Syedabad, he marched off with his Troops to Dolpoor, where he has been for seven or eight days past, collecting Money, and soliciting Assistance from Sindiah and the Machery Rajah, Pertab Singh: It is said that he has received some Troops from both; be this as it may the news just arrived says that he has marched towards Agra. Mirja Shuffy finding that his Designs are hostile has marched to oppose him, he has however carried the Begum and the young Prince with him to endeavour to call Hamdany back to a sense of this Duty, but Mirja Shuffy declares at the same time that if Hamdany does not immediately come to terms on their nearer Approach he will attack him.

I shall not fail to inform you of the Result of this affair. With the greatest Respect,

Camp at Nubby Gunge,
9th February, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 23

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca.

My dear Sir,

It was not my Design to trouble you before my Arrival at Agra, but

the Enclosed Shokah from his Majesty Shah Alum, together with the Letter from Mujid ul Dowlah, which were conveyed to me with great secrecy, appear of a nature to be immediately communicated to you; besides which it was his Majesty's express Desire that I should lose no time in forwarding them : I have sent the Originals for the greater authen[ticity] should you choose to avail yourself of the opportunity afforded by his Majesty that Troops may be sent to him by our Government.¹ I hope you will favour me with answers to these as soon as you may think adviseable whatever may be the nature of them.

Yesterday a Gentleman arrived with me on the part of Mirja Shuffy, his name is Meherban Khan; Tomorrow I expect to see Affrasiab Khan, who comes to meet me to the ne[w] Ground. The following day I shall reach the Camp close to Agra.

The dispute between Mirza Shuffy and Hamdany is once more adjusted : The former only waits my arrival and Departure for Dehly to go to the Banks of the Chumbul where he is to meet Sindia; and Meherban Khan has not failed to dwell on this Proof of his Constituent's Regard for the English Nation.

After the meeting with Sindia, Mirja Shuffy means to visit the Rajah of the Jauts, the Rajah of Joynagur, and other Tributaries, and to compel them to pay up their Arrears; which supply his distressed Troops have long been looking for. With the greatest Respect &c.,

Camp at Ferozabad,
The 22nd Febr., 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 23

9. Copy of a royal Shooka to Mayeen ud Dowla Nusseer ul moulk Major Browne Bahader Sellabut Jung containing a Summons to the Presence.

The Petition sent by you containing this Purport that a royal Shooka which had been bestowed from the Presence upon Ameer ul momalik Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Governor Bahader Jelladut Jung with a Copy of the royal Shooka which had been written to your address you had dispatched to Calcutta to the said Bahader, and in obedience to the powerful Orders you had fixed upon Saturday the 6th Rubbee ul awul¹ as the proper Time for your departure; that by the blessing of God you would soon arrive at Akberabad² and having paid your respects to my high mighty and beloved Son and having obtained an Interview with Ameer ul Omra Bahader you would be honoured with an Introduction to the royal Presence, was presented to the noble Eyes and obtained royal perusal. My

exalted Mind was highly pleased from learning the particulars of your good Services and worthy Intentions and Allegiance.³ It is certain that having acted in Conformity to Directions you will be made happy by the Honor of kissing the royal Threshold. For the rest knowing me to be favorable to your Situation dispatch continually Arzies until your arrival at the royal Palace.

No. 24

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

I have now the pleasure to advise you of my Arrival in the Camp of the Shazada and Mirza Shuffy Khan,¹ who sent Affrasiab Khan to conduct me from the last Ground I encamped upon : A Fever which has for some days affected Mirza Shuffy has prevented my visiting him yet, but I expect to do it Tomorrow. Both he and the Begum have been very attentive to all the Forms of Civility practised on these Occasions.

The Effects of the Want of Rain in this Country which has happened for three successive years, appear sufficiently from the Face of the Country; and the Misery of the Troops, Why* [who?] retired for their [.....] on the Produce of their Jaidads; to encrease the Calamity, the Seiks taking Advantage of the March of Mirza Shuffy to this side of the Country have plundered all the Districts from the Jumna to the Vizier's Frontier,² near to which a large Body of them seem inclined to fix themselves.

I think it my duty to observe to you that it seems very urgently necessary to the safety of our Ally the Vizier, that some steps should be taken with Respect to this formidable People, such as may keep Calamity at a Distance, by seeming to be prepared to repel it, which is by no Means the aspect which either the Vizier or the British Government have on this side; especially in the Eyes of the Seiks, who hear of Troops at Ferockabad and Lucknow with the utmost Indifference, and who no [sic] Frontier to the Vizier's Dominions, but Daranagur and Anufshair. Close to these they have already carried their depredations, and no movement has been made on the Vizier's Part. The Consequence may be their going a little further, when we shall be obliged to engage in a war, which a little activity would have prevented the necessity of. I must beg leave to remark the great Change in State of Affairs in this Quarter, which renders the utmost Precaution requisite on our Part : While the late Navab Nujef Khan was living, his Character, Abilities, and Power formed a Barrier between the Seiks and the Vizier, that security is now destroyed by the Disunion of his successors, while the want of Money and the recent Equality of the Capititors [Competitors], has destroyed all Subordination. If an order be given by one Chief to another to march against the Seiks, he asks "who gave him a Right to

*Do Orig.

command" perhaps, or if he obeys, his Troops refuse to march without Pay. The Seiks in the Interim have plundered and destroyed the Places which those Troops were destined to protect. This very day Intelligence is arrived that the Seiks have burned Ghur Moktissir, a little above Anufshair and several other Places belonging to Afrasiab Khan,³ who is in Consequence preparing to March from hence Tomorrow.

This being the case, may not the Movement of our Troops and the Vizier's to the Frontier be the means of preventing without Hostilities, what may otherwise insure a long continuance of them should we allow the Seiks to establish themselves in the Districts now possessed by the Sirdars of Dehly, which join the Vizier's. If this appears to you dear Sir in the Light in which I have represented it, the measures cannot be taken too soon, for nothing less than this will check the Seiks or save the few Possessions still left to the Shah and his Dependants: With this appearance of support, they will be able to make head against the Seiks, and we by following the Measures dictated by our own safety shall gain the Reputation of assisting the Shah and his Servants, from those Stations also the Troops will be at hand for any future steps which our Government may wish to take in the Shah's Service, in Consequence of the Commission with which I am charged: These are the Ideas which have occurred to me, and which I think it incumbent on me to communicate to you dear Sir, for your Consideration.

The enclosed Shokah from his Majesty to me respecting Acbal Ally Khan, mentions his Majesty having written to you twice App. No. 10. before upon the same subject, it is therefore unnecessary for me to explain the Matter. I shall only beg leave to observe that if you reflect on the services rendered by Camgar Khan to his Majesty,⁴ you must be convinced that he is very desirous to succeed in obtaining your Pardon for the Son. I would therefore very earnestly recommend this small sacrifice to his Majesty; the Refusal must give him great Pain, & a very unfavourable Impression of the Sincerity of our Friendship; at the same time the Rajah is so inconsiderable, that the concession is nothing especially as He may be bound by securities from ever offending again; and from my personal knowledge of him for several years, I can venture to assure you that his Youth may very easily have made him such a Tool as he describes himself to be in the enclosed Paper, and I believe that Mr. Charters who was on the Circuit of the Bahar Province at the Time the Rajah fled, and who took great Pains to ascertain the Truth, will confirm many of his assertions: upon the whole, I beg Leave to recommend your giving way to his Majesty's Solicitation on this Occasion, and forwarding the *Tusselly Nama* to me for the Rajah.

By a letter which I have received from Mr. Bird at Ferrockabad, I find that you have been pleased to appoint him to attend me in the Capacity of assistant during my present Employment; I beg leave to appoint [point] out the Propriety of my receiving a publick Notification of the Time from which his appointment Commences, and I also beg

Permission to recommend that he do receive the same allowances as have been given to the assistants of former Embassies. With the greatest Respect,

Camp near Agra,
February 25th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most Faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
Signed. H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 24

10. A Shoka the original sent to Mr. Hastings and No Copy kept.

James Browne

No. 25

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

The 25 ultimo I did myself the Honour to write you a long letter advising you of my arrival at this Place and that the next day was fixed for visiting the Amir ul Aumrah ; It took place accordingly tho' he was still much afflicted with the Fever, he was consequently in bad spirits, and not very conversable ; but what he did say was polite and obliging. I condoled with him in your name for the Death of the late Navab Nujef Khan and expatiated on the Goodness of Providence in supplying his place by a Chief possessed of so many virtues, that we only discovered a change of Names, but none of Persons, and concluded by assuring him that the English Government and the Navab Vizier have the same Sentiments towards him as they had towards the late Navab and would always be ready to manifest them : He expressed a proper sense of the Compliment, and professed a sincere Reliance on the Friendship of the English and the Vizier : After some General Conversation I took my Leave, and was conducted by Afrasiab Khan (who came on this visit with me) to the Begum's Door, where a tent was pitched for my Reception ; Afrasiab Khan from me made your Condolence to her in nearly the same Words as were used by me to Mirja Shuffy ; She was much afflicted in recollecting her Brother's Death, and desired I would send her Prayers and acknowledgements to you and request that the Friendship you bore the late Navab may be continued to Mirza Shuffy Khan. Previously to this Visit, she had intimated her wish that I would receive a Khelat from her alledging that she gave Khelats to Mirja Shuffy, Mujid ul Dowlah &ca. This I found to be true, but that it was done in the maternal Capacity, she previously called them her Children ; I therefore assured her that I was ready to do

any thing that she desired, but that as I represented you here, I hoped she would give me the Khelat as one of her Children ; this she readily assented to and I accordingly on taking Leave received that appellation with the usual Khelat : This Measure with the Mode of its Execution, I hope will meet with your Approbation.

Yesterday Evening the Amir ul Aumrah returned the visits, and being pretty well, conversed a good deal ; especially after I had led him to what I found his favourite Topick, the war which he conducted against the Seiks, wherein he certainly behaved very well. In the Course of the Conversation he told me that the Seiks have entered the Vizier's Territories by way of Cass Gunge in their Road to Etawa, and hinted that with the assistance of the English and the Vizier he hoped to see them reduced to proper Bounds, or at least the Territories of the Shah and the Vizier cleared and protected from them : As there were many People present I only told him in General Terms that the English, the Vizier and the Shah's Sirdars, are one, will on all occasions be found so. The Idea is however so exactly conformable to my own, that I must beg you to keep it in Mind, Till clearer lights than I yet have, enable me to form some specifick Propositions for your consideration, which will now be very soon.

Whether the Seiks really have gone towards Etawa, or whether the Amir ul Aumrah only said so to sound my Sentiments, I cannot yet tell as I have not had any accounts from the Etawa Side. With the greatest Respect &c.

Camp near Agra,
March 2nd, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithfull Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
Signed. H. Abbott

No. 26

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

Under date the 2nd Instant I had the Honor to inform you of the Occurrences up to that Time.

A slight wound which the Shazada has received in his Hand, by shooting with a Bow and Arrow produced a fever which confined him several days ; This added to the difficulties under which the Amir ul Aumrah has been from the Mutinous Behaviour of his Troops and his Incapacity to satisfy them, which absolutely drove him to the Fort, both to avoid their Clamours and to endeavour to raise some Money, has till this day prevented my paying my Respects to Shazada. This Morning the Amir ul Aumrah accompanied me to the Shazada, to whom I presented

a Nizzor of seven Asherfies. I received a Khelat on my departure, when he was further pleased to invite me to accompany him and the Amir ul Aumrah tomorrow to hunt a Tiger. I beg leave to remark once for all, that whenever I trouble you with a Detail of these Trifles, It is merely to give you an Idea of the Treatment which I meet with as your Representative.

In consequence of the Ravages [of] the Seiks, which still continue to the very Walls of the Dehly,¹ his Majesty has ordered the Amir ul Aumrah to march thither, and he designs to do [so] in twelve or fourteen days. I can perceive that he is desirous I should not set off till he does also ; he hinted it once or twice but as he has not spoken plainly, I have not given any Reply. It is however my Intention to comply with his request to that Effect if he should make it, because I know it to be your Wish that I should make myself agreeable to the Ministers at this Court as well as to the Shah himself.

Since I had the pleasure to address you last, I have been at an Entertainment at the Amir ul Aumrah's Tent ; during the Entertainment we had a great deal of conversation, in which he expressed his Esteem and Friendship for our Nation, however some questions which he asked me will show you how busy our Enemies have been in this quarter, and add to the Proofs of the Propriety of Gentlemen on the Part of the English, residing at the Courts of Hindostan.

He asked me if we had not been obliged to reduce our Sepoys Pay from 9 to six Rupees p.Mt. [per month] whether we had not paid a Crore of Rupees to Modojee Boosla to save Bengal from Plunder And whether the French and Hyder Ally Khan had not shut up our Army in Madras : The first and last Questions were easily answered ; to the Second, I replied that I believed a sum somewhat near 20 Lacks of Rupees had been paid to Madajee² but that I understood it was the Repayment of money advanced by him to Colonel Goddard in 1778. I hope this answer will meet with your approbation, or else that you will favour me with the Materials for one that shall be more proper.

He afterwards asked me whether you did not design to mediate with Sindia in favour of the Ranah of Gohud, who has incurred his present Calamities on Account of his Alliance with the English. I told him I did not believe you would as the Rana had forfeited every Retention to the Benefit of an ally by his Conduct,³ of which I had been an Eye Witness, and on which I expatiated, I also observed that the Enmity of the Marrahattas towards the Rana had existed many years prior to his alliance with the English⁴ ; and that the Rana's endeavour to trace it from that Alliance, was merely an artif[ice] of his to induce us to mediate a Peace for him, or to fix an odium on us if we do not.

The Truth is these Chiefs do not wish to have Sindia fixed so near to themselves ; & indeed the Vizier's Dominions will be much exposed by it also ; But I dare say dear Sir, this has not escaped your [pene]tration.

Having yesterday received advice from Mr. David Anderson of the

Exchange of Treaties between the English and Marhatta Governments, I this Morning Communicated it, with its Circumstance of offensive and defensive alliance, to the Amir-ul-Aumrah, who expressed great satisfaction on occasion.

As Hyder Ally Khan's Vakeel [still] insists on his Masters being living I beg leave to express my wish to be furnished with some Documents to put the Matter beyond Doubt in this Part of the Country. With the greatest Respect &ca.,

Camp at Agra,
March 10th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 27

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca &ca.,

My dear Sir,

The Enclosed Papers¹ which I send in the original to save time, and which I beg you will cause to be read immediately for your Information ; will advise you of the desperate State of Dehly, from the Seiks ; and No. 2. will show you that there is nothing to be expected from the Efforts of the Shah's Chiefs. If Dehly and its Dependencies are to be saved, the English and Vizier are the only Powers to effect it : But the Process of Letters, Ministers, Replies and Rejoinders with which our Proceedings are clogged, is ill calculated to save a Kingdom from an invading Enemy. Were you my dear Sir at Lucknow, what might we not do, what might we do [sic] not expect from such a Juncture ? I have advised Mr. Bristow² to order the English Troops and the Viziers to the Frontiers of Anufsha[ir] and Daranagur, as it will answer the Purpose of supporting the spirits of the Dehly Chiefs, and Checking Seiks without involving us, I hope it will appear to him in the same light.

In addition to the Paper of Intelligence No. 2, I beg leave to observe, that the Amir ul Aumrah is deterred from marching by other Causes, I m[ean] his fears that advantage may be taken of his ab[sence] from this side by the Marhattas, by Mahomed Beg Hamdany ; by Nujef Kouly Khan ; who [is] in the Neighbourhood of Narnowl and has n[ever] joined the Amir ul Aumrah, and by the Jauts, who h[ave] lately had the advantage over Daud Beg Khan³ on the Burtpoor Side.

Peace being now concluded with the Marhattas the Cawnpore Station may, if you please dear Sir, be moved to Futtah Ghur, where the Cav[alry] Brick Stables will make excellent Barracks for the Europeans, and Colonel

Cumming's Detachment [move] on to Anufshair, at least till the Rains set in.

You said Sir, that an adequate [excuse?] should bring you up the Country, surely the present one is such it is to save an Empire ; and choose the share the Company may wish for as a Reward. I am with the greatest Respect,

Camp at Agra,
March 11, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 28

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

Yesterday I had the Honour to address you, and to forward you the latest Intelligence from Dehly and this Place.

The Ravages of the Seiks still continue to the very Gates of Dehly. This morning the Mogul Risaladars of the Amir ul Aumrah's army, whose Families and Effects are at Dehly, hearing of the dangerous situation of the Place went in a Body to the Amir ul Aumrah's Tent, and insisted on his marching Immediately, or that they could set off by themselves. With much Difficulty he prevailed on them to wait till the 1st.¹ ; the Paish Khannah is gone on 7 Coss on the Dehly Road, and at present it appears certain that we march the day after Tomor[r]ow, However if by any Means the Seiks should quit the Neigh[h]bourhood of the City before that time, I think it probable that the Amir ul Aumrah will Endeavour to [avoid?] quitting this side of the Country for some time : For my share, I cannot get on while the Seiks are in their present Position, except by the march of this army ; but if they should draw off, and the Amir ul Aumrah should in Consequence put off his March, I shall set off by myself.

Camp at Agra,
March 12, 1783.

I am my dear Sir,
Your most faithfull servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 29

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca.

My dear Sir,

My address of the 12 Contained Intelligence of every Thing up to that time, yesterday Morning, the Army marched to the Paish Khan[nah] at this Place, But the Amir ul Aumrah waits the Result of his Brother Mirza Zeinul Abedin's arrival at Dehly which happened the 13th Instant in the morning. He has 4 Battalions, 2000 Horse and 16 Field Pieces with him, and Afrasiab Khan being also on his March from Aly Ghur¹ to Dehly, the Amir ul Aumrah hopes that they will be able to clear the environs of Dehly from the Ravages of the Seiks, without obliging him to march from this side where he has Reason to fear that his Enemies would establish themselves before his Return.

I have the Honour to enclose you a Letter from the Amir ul Aumrah² to your address, to which I beg leave to request you will order a Reply to be given as soon as possible ; to point out the Motives of which Request, I need only observe that no Letter whatever has ever passed between you and him ; this is the first overture and made by him to you.

The opening of this Correspondence appears to me a proper time to give you the best Idea I am able of this young Aumrah's Character and the advantages and disadvantages of his present situation.

He is a young man possessed of much spirit and activity of Mind ; but by no Means equally furnished with Penetration into the Characters and Designs of Men ; nor with the Temper to conform to Circumstances till occasion may offer to turn them to his own advantage. Having been bred up in the absolute Notions of Persia, he expects implicit obedience from all under him, and loses every Degree of Patience on any failure in it ; without any Regard some time to the Rank and Character of the Person to whom he speaks ; this Temper has led him into several great Improprieties, and greatly disgusted the Mogul Sirdars, who have been used to the Patience and Politeness of Nujif Khan.

The advantages he possesses over every other Competitor are his Birth, being nearly related to the Navab Vizier their Grand fathers having been Brothers. His Connection with the Family of Nujif Khan, by having been betrothed to the Daughter of that Navab : and lastly, his actual Possession of the Office which was held by the late Navab. If these Circumstances should induce the English Nation and the Navab Vizier to give him assistance [to] establish the Peace of the Country, I think every other Party would very soon become obedient to him : This is what His Excellency the Vizier has much at heart, and therefore it is my duty to point it out to you. Exclusive of which, if it is your wish to interfere [but] little in the Affairs of Dehly, perhaps this presents the easiest and fairest Method of doing it, by supporting the Amir ul Amrah with annexed stipulations in favour of the Shah. I mention this Dear Sir as a Hint

from [*sic*] your Consideration.

The Disadvantages under which he labours are the unpopularity which I have mentioned ; a want of Money ; the Disaffection of Nujif Kouly Khan who will not join him, but remains at his Jaidads ; and as far as he can Collects the Countries round for his own use ; The Coldness, at least of Mahomed Beg Hamdany, who thinks his former services have been neglected. A want of Cordiality in Afrasiab Khan, who still remembers that Nujif Khawn meant *him* for the succession to his offices : The concealed Resentment of Mojid ul Dowlah, who has been harshly treated by him : and the conduct of Zabita Khan who has left Ghoss Ghur with avowed Intention to join Zean ul Abedein against the Seiks, yet brings an army of Seiks with him : add to this the Behaviour of the Jauts and Rajhpoots, who have stopped Payment of their Tribute, and secured themselves in their strong Holds, from where the Troops really obedient to the Amir ul Aumrah, are not strong enough to dislodge them, as has lately appeared in the Instance of Doud Beg Khan, who has been worsted near Burtpore : To complete the whole, no very hearty Regard for him in his Majesty's Mind ; who cannot forget the Transaction of him and Hamdany in November last.

These appear to me dear Sir, his Character and situation ; and I thought it proper to state this to you when commencing a Correspondence with him. If to oblige our Ally the Vizier, it shall be your Pleasure to support this young Aumrah and place him in the Plenitude of Power enjoyed by Nejif Khan, I have no doubt that a public Declaration from the English and Vizier to that Effect, with the appearance of some Preparations to support it, would operate like Enchantment to remove his Difficulties, [so] far as relates to the other Chiefs ; with Respect [to] the Shah, respectful Negotiation, and a little Money from the Vizier, would I believe succeed. If not the object should be quitted, for we ought not, I think, to displease his Majesty for the sake of his Servants.

Enclosed I have the pleasure to send you an abridged Narrative of the Transaction of the Seiks since the 11th Instant. With Perfect Respect,

Mirza Shaffy's Camp, Gow Gant,
March 16, 1783.

I am My Dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 30

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

The 16 I had the Honour to address you and to enclose a letter from

the Amir ul Aumrah, as also Intelligence of the Seiks up to that day.

As I have Reason to believe that the Amir ul Aumrah will not go to Dehly for some time, and that consequently I shall soon leave him ; I thought it proper to make him acquainted with the sentiments which both your Instructions and the Navab Vizier's directed me to avow in the Case of his being in that office before my Departure. In this Purpose I signified my Intention of waiting on him yesterday Evening ; but he prevented me by coming to me.

Having taken him aside into a separate Tent, I told him that on my Departure from Calcutta you had informed me that whatever Sirdar his Majesty should please to nominate to the office of the late Navab if not opposite to the Interests of our Ally the Vizier, you should be ready to acknowledge ; and as far as Circumstances would admit, in Conjunction with the Navab Vizier to assist him in forwarding the service of his Majesty, by putting the royal Domains in order ; that when I spoke to the Viz[ier] on the subject, He declared that he considered Mirza Shuffy as his Brother, and that he wished for nothing more than to see him invested with the same Power and office as the late Navab, Nujif Khan was. I assured him therefore that his Majesty's having nominated him [to] the office of Amir ul Aumrah was subject of great satisfaction both to the English and the Vizier, and that therefore if he had any View into which he wished [them] to enter I requested he would do me the Honour to Communicate it to me, that I might lay it before them, when I doubted not of their Readiness to forward it, if tending to service of his Majesty Shah Alum.

In reply the Amir ul Aumrah told me that he considered the Navab Vizier as his friend and Brother, that he hoped the Governor General would have no less Friendship for him than he had for the late Navab Nujif Khan : That he wished Friendship, Alliance and Reciprocal assistance, to be established between us, and that all may unite to serve the Shah, and to establish order in the Country.

This was all he said upon the subject but he seemed very well satisfied with what I said of the Friendship of the English and Vizier.

During the Conversation he took occasion from the mention of Nujef Khan, to say that Nujef Khan always declared himself to be a servant of the Company, (attending to his salary) and that tho' his Pay was stopped, he still had answered Hyder Ally Khan and Cheyt Sing who made him great offers, that he was a servant of the English; and that it never was his Character to betray his Masters : Mirza Shuffy mentioned this half in Jest, half in earnest; and added in the same Tone, that if servants did not get their Wages at the Place where they might wish to remain, they would ultimately be forced to seek for service else where. I answered him in the same style, and told him that they ought first to try every species of Remonstrance.

By the way I have reflected on the Matter, and tho' the reducing a Charge of two Lacks of Rupees per Annum from a Simple Risaladar, was

without Doubt a very rational æconomy, yet when the same Man became Amir ul Aumrah, the sum was but inconsiderable for the Security of his Services, and I am surprised it was not seen in that Light. From what the Amir ul Aumrah has said perhaps he or the Begum will renew the Subject, in which Case I shall advise them to address themselves to you.

The enclosed Shokah from his Majesty, I was honoured with App. No. 11. yesterday, as he desires me to communicate the Purport of part of it you Dear Sir, I have no better Method of doing it than by Sending the Shokah itself. The Distresses under which he labours are Extreme, I h[owever] wish that it may be found practicable hereafter to relieve him from them. With perfect Respect &ca.,

Mirja Shuffy's Camp, Gow Gaut,
March 19th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 30

11. Another Shoka. the Original sent to Mr. Hastings and no Copy kept.

James Browne

No. 31

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honor to address you the 19th Instant Concerning a Shokah from his Majesty.

As I found the Amir ul Amra intended marching to Dehly by way of Deig and that consequently some Delay would be occasioned in our arrival there; I expressed my wish that [he] would give me my Dismission, that I might [go] by Muttra. As I expected, he very earnestly requested that I would go with him that the Difference of Time would be very inconsiderable, That his being accompanied by me, and the Channel of my Introduction by evincing his Connection with the English, would give him weight and Consequence in the Country; whereas my quitting him when it was known that he was going to Dehly, would give an opposite Impression, as I must necessarily be presented to his Majesty by other people. That as he Considered me as a Friend and Well wisher, he did not scruple to tell me that his authority was illestablished, and required the Aid of every favourable appearance which he could give it, that therefore he earnestly requested this Mark of attention from me, but that

if I insisted on going the other Road, I was my own master.

For the Reasons assigned in my Letter of the 10th Instant, which were strengthened by the recent Declaration I had made to him of our Friendship, I resolved to comply especially as his Majesty in the Shokah which I had the Honour to send you, directs me to Come *with the Amier-ul-Aumrah*, tho' the latter seems not to have known this Circumstance by his not urging it. I however of Course took Care to make a merit of my Compliance, and to tell him that in Case of his being unexpectedly delayed, I should call upon him to dismiss me. We are now thus far on the Way to Deig.

The Seiks have at Length drawn off a little from Dehly,¹ and now threaten Paniput; however this is little Security to the Capital, as these People march 30 [or. .] Coss in 24 Hours. With perfect Respect &ca.,

Mirja Shuffy's Camp, near Burtpoor,
March 26th, 1783.

Your most faithful servant
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 32

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honour to address you from this place the day we arrived here, the 26 last Month. Since which the Amir ul Aumrah has been detained here by his Negotiations with Runjeit Sing the Rajah of the Jauts, who has shut himself up in the Fort of Bortpoor: 6 Coss from hence, and as he is pretty certain that the Navab has neither time nor means to besiege him he shows but little Respect to his Demands. However Things seem now to approach to an accommodation, if the Insolence of the Rajah does not operate upon the Amir ul Aumrah's Impetuosity of Temper to produce an unseasonable Rupture.

The Vakeel of Sindia in this Camp, whose name is Anund Row Nersy, has waited on me several Times, and in his Master's Name has expressed his Wish that a Meeting could be effected between Sindia and me, as he is very desirous of knowing the Views of the English at the Court of Dehly, and of explaining his own to me, that as he and the English are but One, Nothing may be undertaken by either which may in it's Consequences clash with the Interests of the other. In reply, I have desired him to inform his Master that I should esteem myself greatly honoured by his Acquaintance, and that if Mirja Shuffy should meet him before he goes to Dehly, I will doubtless, do myself the Pleasure of going with him (tho' out of the Way) in order to manifest my Friendship and Respect for Sindea: But that at the same Time I begged him to observe

that as Mr. Anderson attended him on your Part for the Transaction of all publick Business, It would be proper he should Communicate his Sentiments to him, and that if Mr. Anderson thought proper, He would write me on the Subjects. I beg you will honour me with your Commands as to the Species of Negociation that you choose I should [keep] up with Sindia; at the same Time I beg Leave to int[imate] that if the English and the Vizier mean in support of Shah to reduce the Seiks to some reasonable Bounds, it may not be amiss to connect Sindia in the Plan, and with such a confederacy I have no doubt of the Seiks being readily brought not only to cease molesting his Majesty's Territories, but to pay him Tribute. If this meets with your approbation Dear Sir, at the Same Time that you honour me with your Commands, you will write to Mr. Anderson to propose the Matter to Sindia. If you approve it I should be glad to receive a letter from you to Sindia on this Subject which will [sic] I will forward to him. I am well persuaded that this publick Manifestation of our Friendship will be of great Utility both to us and to Sindia.

I have the pleasure to enclose you a Letter from Mujid ul Dowlah to your address as [well as] two Notes from him addressed to a man who has been my Agent at Dehly and whom I once before mentioned. I beg you will please to give them your Perusal, as they explain the State of himself & his master particularly. I have another to myself to the same Purport; as Mujid ul Dowlah writes by the Shahs Order and as in this Letter he has specified a Demand for Troops to assist his Majesty against the Seiks, I have in Reply explained to him the Necessity of Money or Jaidads being previously agreed to by his Majesty for the Support of Such Troops as he may require, as the present State of the English Affairs, from the many wars in which they are engaged, will not allow them to follow their own inclination, which is to serve the Shah at their own expence. That if either you or his Excellency the Vizier come to the Presence, it will be with a large Body of Troops, and that those Troops must be paid for by his Majesty who is ultimately to reap the Benefit of the Country's being Settled: And finally that the English must be satisfied as to the Employment of those Troops, that it may not be expected of them to act against those with whom they are in Friendship, as the Marhattas, and the Family of Nujif Khan, desiring at the same time to know what Chiefs He could be responsible for the Coincidence of; as it is not reasonable that the English should be Compelled to dispute with his Majesty's Servants the Privilege of serving him. This answer includes every important Point of my Commission so far as Respects Troops; so that by the Time I get to Dehly the Negociation will be far advanced.

If his Majesty agrees to the Subsidy, I beg leave to observe to you that if you cannot come up the Country yourself, the Vizier should go to the Presence with some of his own Troops, and those of the English furnished on the subsidy which ought not to be less than Eight or Ten Regi-

ments of Sepoys with a suitable Train of Field Artillery. The arrival of the Vizier, who is the Highest servant of the Crown and acknowledged by all Parties as such, would prevent every Jealousy and Disaffection which might otherwise arise and grow up to opposition. The Amir-ul-Aumrah himself could find no reasonable Plea to Complain of a Diminution of his Importance by Acting in Subordination to the Vizier, who is officially his Superior : and if he could be so unreasonable, no Person would agree with him, or blame either the English or the Vizier. To this may be added, that Mirza Shuffy would consider the Vizier as his Relation and Friend, and Consequently the more readily acquiesce in acting Subordinately to him.

Indeed to whom but yourself or the Navab Vizier can such a plan be intrusted for Execution ? Might I advise both should go to the Presence together ? A very short time will suffice for executing the whole, for fixing the Quotas of Troops and confirming or removing his Majesty's Officers, after that every Thing will be Smooth. The Splendour of your situation in Conjunction with the Navab Vizier, supporting the tottering Throne of Timur, and giving Peace and Security to this distracted Country, will far exceed any Thing that your long and successful Government has hitherto presented ; The Eyes of all Hindostan will be upon you, and when it is known that the English had no other View in the Measure, than to Show their attachment and affection to the Family of Timur, to whose Indulgence and Munificence in its infant State, the British Empire in India owes it's Existence; how justly shall we be respected and admired, and how effectually will the Exclamations of our Enemies against the self-interested Policy of our Nation, be Silenced. My dear Sir, to do this action, and to do it in Person, is to perpetuate the Reputation of the Nation and of yourself ; and is what I wish to see with a Zeal equal to the Gratitude and affection which I owe you. But to this End, no Time must be lost, and the Troops requisite for this Service must all be collected on the Frontier previously to the movement of yourself and his Excellency, that no delay may take place, and that in Case of any Restraint attempted to be put on his Majesty, our army may be at hand to prevent it.

These my dear Sir, are the Ideas I have of the measures proper to be pursued in the Case of his Majesty Consenting to the subsidy and our Government Choosing to enter largely and extensively into the Shahs Support. In Case of preferring to interfere but Slightly, I have already pointed out the most eligible steps in my address of March 16. With perfect Respect

Mirza Shuffy's Camp, Burtpoor,
April 3d, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 32

12. This Paper is missing, but its Contents are clearly understood from those of No. 13.

James Browne

13. Copy of a Draft from Major Browne to the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader in answer to his Letter—Written on the 2d Jemmadie ul Awul¹ 1197.

Your favoring Letter with a Shooka directed to Selah ud dien and a friendly Epistle² which was addressed to Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor having made its noble arrival on the first Jemmadie ul awul, honored me with the knowledge of the whole contents as far as appeared, and the Affairs which were contained were particularly understood. Having immediately sealed them, I dispatched them enclosed in a Letter from myself. It was written that by reason of the disturbance raised by the Conquered Seiks³ and the Disorder of the Empire perplexing Difficulties had and did occur to the Servants of Royalty, and yourself, and all Mankind was trampled by the Blows of Adversities and contrary Events, and whatever had been wished by his Majesty and yourself, from the Nawab Vizier, and Nawab Amaud ud Dowla, had not yet been performed. My Friend! In truth the Negotiation of all these Affairs appertains to me, and for it. It was fixed that I should represent many Matters personally to the Presence. However as at present in my waiting on the presence, there clearly appears Delay, by reason that before this a Shooka was written with the royal Signature, that whatever Furzund Khan⁴ might write should be considered as written by the Presence, of necessity. I shall write (for a Diffuse narration would require books) in a Compendious explanation, what, having stept to the consideration of it, you may impress on the Memory of the Servants of the Presence. That for the space of 5 years,⁵ the English Gentlemen have been at War with the French, and the Dutch, and Hyder Naig, and the Marattas, and have raised new Armies; that three times as many as formerly have been assembled, and besides that the Expences of the King's Ships and Troops⁶ which nearly 7,000 have come from Europe to Bombay and Madras, and by reason of the Events of the War the Revenues of those Countries as far as Surat,⁷ and all the rest fell to the Share of the Enemy, the supplies of this have merely been confined to the Receipts of Bengal and the Vizier's Country, further having found it difficult to compass the Business, with so little, Considerable sums from Europe have been expended; if so many Circumstances had not happened, on a single Command, great Armies would have come from the English Gentlemen and the Nawab Vizier merely for the satisfaction of his Majesty, for their own Reputation and to prove their

Loyalty ; therefore in sending Troops some Articles are necessary.

1st. That the Gentlemen's Troops, as long as they remain in his Employ should receive Pay at the rate of 25000 Rupees per Regiment to consist of 1000 Firelocks, and 2 Cannon, which is rate customary and Paid between the Vizier and English Gentlemen.⁸ As at this time the Troubles of the Presence are evident, the Method of a Jaidad will make no difference ; if this be approved let particulars be written with a Computation of the Troops required, that Nawab Amaud ud Dowla may send them accordingly to the Presence.

2d. That the Troops be not so employed as may be a Cause of confusion and breach of the Treaties and Alliances of the English Gentlemen and the Nawab Vizier, in like manner, the Peace and Arrangement now concluded between the Chiefs of the South⁹ and the English Gentlemen and the Nawab Vizier¹⁰ and the custom of Friendship and regulations of Union adjusted and extended to the family of the late Nawab Nejif Khan, should not be violated.

3d. As yet many Nobles and Chiefs do not agree heartily, let it happen that on the arrival of the English Armies they show Zeal and consideration in the Service conjointly with the Nobles of the Presence, and discover endeavors for the Arrangement of the Empire and destruction of Rebels; by reason of their Disagreements they have raised confusion and presented obstacles to many Affairs, and it is known to your bounteous Heart that in such seditious tumults what performance of Duty may be expected from Troops confined to their Jaidads without other Assistance. Having understood all these Articles, represent them to the Presence ; further having consulted on this Subject with Mehid Coolie Khan and Mirza Zainulabdin Khan,¹¹ write whatever may be determined or be said by his Majesty, that having transmitted it to Nawab Amaud ud Dowla I may soon receive an Answer, and if it be proper write to the Nawab Ameer ul Omrah, or direct me that in a proper manner having personally communicated with the said Nawab, I may learn what is in his Heart ; and if that time be not fortunate for writing and delay should occur in my arrival, write me so much.

No. 33

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honour to address you the 3rd Instant Covering some Persian Papers which were mentioned in the Letter itself ; as I have this day learned that a Dawk dispatched about the same time has been cut off near Shekohabad, to remedy the Accident if it has befallen that Packet, I send Duplicates by this day's dawk.

This Letter encloses to you One from Mujid ul Dowlah, Concerning a Shokah from his Majesty written throughout by his own Hand, as the

Purport of them has been written in former Ones, I have nothing to remark in Explanation of them.

I beg leave to observe dear Sir, that his Majesty has expressed much Concern at the apparent Disregard shown to him by not replying to his Shokahs ; a Marck of Attention which the other great Powers of Hindostan never fail in however regardless they may be of his Majesty in Essentials. I am persuaded this has arisen from Accident not Design, however as it gives much Uneasiness to the Shah as well as an ill impression of us, and as the Remedy is so very easy, permit me to intreat you whenever a Shokah arrives, to give it to Major Davy, that some Kind of answer may be sent to it. As I can have no other view in this Advice, or any other that I may take the liberty of giving than to contribute towards rendering your Character and Person more and more respectable and amiable ; and as I trust you do me the Justice of believing this, I shall not trouble you dear Sir, with any Apology for my Freedom.

The Aumir ul Aumrah's People are gone to pitch on a Ground for encamping between this Place and Dolpoor, which is about 20 Coss from hence. Sindia is near Gualiar on his way to the same place, [so] that this long expected Meeting will at Length take Effect. From the Characters and Views of the two Men ; I do not conceive that they will part better Friends than they meet. Sindia knows the weakness of the Amir ul Aumrah and in Consequence means to make Demands from him which the other who does not know his own Weakness will not quietly Submit to. I hope in my next to give you an account of this Meeting. After which we are to march directly to Dehly. I am with perfect Respect,

Mirja Shuffy's Camp, Bartpoor,
April 9th, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 34

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My Dear Sir,

I had the Honour to address you the 9th Instant Concerning a Shokah from his Majesty and a Letter from Mujid ul Dowlah.

As I am no less Convinced of its Conformity to your Wishes than of its Solid Utility to the National Interest, that a perfect Confidence in our Faith and Sincerity should possess the Minds of the Shah and his Ministers, I have used every Means in my Power to establish it, particularly in the Mind of the Amir ul Amrah ; whose Rank and whose Active and Spirited Character, must make him the first Person in this Quarter, and

whose Connection with the Vizier, must make us desire to see him Continue so ; and I have the satisfaction to perceive that my Endeavours have not been fruitless : as a proof of which I beg Leave to Observe that tho' since the Arrival of our Troops at Anafshair and Daranagur, every Correspondent he has, has written him that the English and Vizier are in full March to Dehly and advised him to send Troops to oppose them, yet he not only has rejected every Suspicion of our faith, but has always informed me of what has been written, and expressed his Satisfaction at the English and the Viziers appearing ready to oppose the Incursions of the Seiks.

Four days ago, upon Occasion of my paying him a Visit of Condolence, on the Death of a young Daughter of Najif Khan's, of about two years old; He took me aside into a separate Tent, and after sending every other Person out, He told me that he was doubtful of the Consequences of the expected Interview with Sindia, that perhaps Sindia may renew the Claim of chauth and in Case of not receiving it, may plunder his Majesty's Districts : He observed at the same time, that he considered his army a Match for Sindia had he no other enemy to deal with, but that in the present Case, if all the Royal Army Should Assemble on the Southern Front to oppose the Marhattas, the Seiks would invade [the] Northern Side; at the Same Time that the Jauts [and] Rajhpoots, who are better affected to the Marhattas as Hindoos, than to his Majesty and his Servants would join the former, or at least keep back the Revenues of their respective Countries, to the fin[al] Ruin of his Majesty's Affairs. He added to this that he had Intelligence of Tokogees' being on his way or preparing to set out, to join Sindia, who by the time of Toko's Arrival, will be in Possession of all the Bare Country. Nothing more particular passed on occasion, but at a Second Conference which I had with him yesterday, he renewed the Subject and after repeating the former Detail, he said, the Marhattas being at Peace with us (the English) and united among themselves, are preparing to turn their Views to the Conquest of Hindostan, [to] the getting of the Shah into their Power; to the Destruction of the Mussulman Interest, perhaps their Extermination, as he did not see how without any support, they (the Mussulmans) would be able to withstand the United Efforts of so many Enemies: That in the Event of the Marhattas, Seiks, Jauts and Rajhpoots uniting, the Moguls and Afghans must Ultimately be swallowed up, or Compelled to act in Subordination to this Confederacy. He observed, that however just and honourable we (the English) may believe the Marhattas to be, we surely cannot think that after arriving at such a Point of uncontrollable Power, they would allow any Treaty to restrain them from demanding Etawa, Korah, and Allahabad from the Nabob Vizier; and the Tribute of the Bengal Provinces from the English, for both which the Shah's name could be employed, and to both which the English and Vizier must then either Submit, or Commence a War against a Confederacy of all Hindostan, without a single Ally, and with the Royal Name against them.

To be prepared for these Events, and by that means either to prevent their arriving at all, or to check them in the commencement of their course;

he has desired me to propose to you, and he also has proposed in the accompanying Persian Letter a Treaty of Alliance between the English and the Navab Vizier on one part, and the Amir ul Aumrah on the other; both Treaties to be Superscribed by the Shah "That he approves them;" Because as he observed it is for his Majesty's Service, at the same time that there would be an Evident Impropriety in his (the Shah) Contracting with any Power in Hindostan, where all are styled his subjects.

The enclosed Draught of such a[lliance] as the Amir ul Amrah desires to enter into, will explain itself. He was desirous of making it offensive as well as defensive; but as I did not think you would approve it upon those terms I advised it's being restricted to Defence, and the Suppression of Rebellion in the respective Countries. If you prefer it's being offensive as well as defensive, it is only necessary to Signify that to be your pleasure; and to let me know for what Portion of such Countries as may be Conquered in Conjunction to be accounted for to the Company, I shall negotiate. I would beg Leave to recommend in such Case, That the Agreement be for a Subsidy equal to [that] Portion of the Conquered Countries, and not for any Portion of the Countries themselves, which for their Distance could never be managed by us:—for Instance, if a Country be reduced from the Seiks, worth Sixteen Lacks of Rupees per annum, and our Portion of all Conquests be Six Annas per Rupee; then the Amir ul Amrah shall pay us a Subsidy of Six Lacks of Rupees per annum, either in Money or in Jaidads near to the Vizier's Country.

The Amir ul Aumrah finished the Conversation by observing that if the Views of the Marhattas were not such as he Suspected and had described, no Inconvenience could arise from a Confederacy so Natural and proper as that of the English, the Navab Vizier, and the Amir ul Aumrah, all Friends and Well wishers to the Family of Timur:—And if on the other Hand the Design of the Marhattas should be to destroy the Mogul Power and afterwards that of the Navab Vizier and the English; they would find all Parties so well prepared for Resistance, that they probably would lay the Scheme aside; or if they should not, would fail in the Execution of it.

I have added some Remarks opposite to the Articles of the Treaty in the English Draught of it, which will I hope Clear up any thing doubtful or obscure.

Allow me to observe, that as the 14 Article of our Treaty with the Mahrattas Specifies that "We will not assist each others Enemies," the Sooner the Treaty with the Amir ul Aumrah Shall be executed the better, since he is not at Variance now with the Paishwah, and of Course We may enter into an Alliance with him with Strict propriety which could not be done after any disagreement between them unless from emergent Necessity.

I must beg leave to add that tho' I do not think this Measure requires any recommendation, its own Importance and Utility being so extremely evident, yet if my opinion can give it additional Weight, it has it to the utmost Extent of Approbation, for I own that I see the Views of the

Marhattas in the same light as Amir ul Aumrah does, nor is there a Single Circumstance which he has Connected with them, which does not appear the same to me. While Sindia remains on this Side Narwar, his Projects may be justly suspected of pointing at Hindostan :—If he returns, our Treaty with the Amir ul Aumrah has still many advantages attending it :—It se[cures] the Friendship of all the Chiefs from Anufshair to Sirhind ; It protects the Viziers Country from the Seiks ; It enables us to have the Service of a Body [of] good Cavalry whenever we have Occasion for it, without incurring the Smallest Expence at other times, It excludes the Negotiations of the French and others our Enemies at this Court, and lastly by his Majesty's Superscription, it possesses every Advantage of a Treaty with him, with the additional one of being made with a Person who Commands an Army instead of one who does not.

To say the Truth this Proposal of the Amir ul Amrah, exceeds my most Sanguine Expectations, for I feared that even after his Majesty's Assent to the Subsidy I should have much difficulty in bringing the Amir ul Amrah into it : But now every Thing will go on Smoothly, and if you approve or wish to alter this Treaty, you have only to Signify your Approbation or the Alteration you wish should be made, and Send me the necessary Power from the Collective Body of Administration for the Conclusion of the Agreement : Advising the Navab Vizier at the same time that the requisite Instructions may be sent me on his part. For the sake of secrecy, which I fancy cannot be Strictly observed at such a mixed Durbar as the Viziers ; I have not written to his Excellency on the Subject, nor shall I till I know your Pleasure.

If this Treaty should be thought to militate against that with the Paishwah, I answer, that if his Views are fair, this Treaty can never affect him ; If they are not surely our Government would not Consider their Engagement with him as binding them not to take any Measures for their own strength and security, while the Marhattah Government is aiming at the Reduction of whole Empire, to which they Consider their right as incontestable ; and it's operation not defeated but only Suspended by the accidental Aid given to the Mussulman Cause by Ahmed Shah Durranny at Paniput. The Paishwah has certainly no more Right to Complain of our forming alliance than he would of our raising Troops, or Casting Cannon, both which he could urge might in Process of Time be employed against him. Were we indeed to ally ourselves with a Power at War with him there might be room for Complaint ; but Surely the Paishwah will not call the Amir ul Aumrah, treating with the san[ction] of his Majesty's Approbation, his Enemy, or a power with whom the English and the Vizier must not treat. If he does, it must arise from an Idea of Superiority which we are bound at least not to Subscribe to, [if] we wish to preserve that Degree of political Importance without which we are nothing.

I need not expatiate on the urgent N[eed] of an immediate Reply to this Proposition, both with Respect to the Rank of the Amir ul Aumrah and the State of Affairs. It is our Business to Conclude this Treaty while

the Aumir ul Aumrah and the Paishwah are Friends ; I shall exert every Endeavour to keep them so till I have the Honour to hear from you, which I flatter myself will be a very short time.

I beg leave to add that I have not ventured to promise any thing more to the Aumir ul Aumrah, than my Recommendation of the Measure to you ; at the Same time the matter appeared to me too important to neglect or delay & I therefore at once sent the Draught of the Treaty, and whatever else might enable you to judge and determine with Expedition. Your Approbation in this and every other Instance, is the highest Reward to which I aspire, and more than ample Compensation for all my labour.

The Consequence of this Alliance to the Amir ul Amrah, will be an Union of all Parties under his Authority, and the real Command of a large Army, now divided and out of Heart : This will make him an useful Servant to the Shah and a valuable Ally to the English and the Vizier : The Seiks who now plunder the Shah's Territories, will cease their Depredations ; and the Jauts, the Rajhpoots and other Tributaries who relying on their Forts refuse to pay the Revenue, will be terrified by the Name of the British Army into a proper State of Dependence on his Majesty, and a consequent Payment of his Tribute.

Respecting the 2nd Article of the Treaty permit me to observe that if something could be fixed [for] his Majesty between us and the Vizier, it would do us great Credit, and Confirm all Parties in Friendship with us ; at the same time that it would put an End to all the Negotiations of the French, Tippoo Sultan &c. [A] few Lacks of Rupees per Annum devided between the English and the Vizier is, I should hope, a Burden they Still can bear, and would render his Majesty's Situation easy and Comfortable. I have however [given] no Encouragement to expect it, but the Contrary. I think the non-performance of this Article, will not prevent the Treaty with Mirza Shuffy.

As an Instance of his Friendship and Sincerity towards the English, the Amir ul Aumrah this day sent me an Original Letter from Monsieur Montigny the French Minister at [Poona] it is addressed to Rajah Himut Behader¹ (who has I find long been the Channel of Communication with the French) and accompanied an Arzee for the Shah,² which I saw the *Kh^hetah* and Seal of and which the Amir ul Amrah detains and ref[uses] to forward ; Montagny's Letter is signed with his Name and Sealed with his Coat of Arms on Wax, as is the Cover, on which it is dated the 4th of Rubbi ul Sani.³ I hope soon to send you a Copy. This Circumstance I think must give you much Satisfaction respecting the Amir ul Amrah:—I do not however clearly see the Propriety of the Paishwah's Conduct, if Montigny's Story be true ; but if we measure his Veracity in other Respects, by the Standard furnished by his Intelligence to his Correspondents at Dehly, he does not merit much Credit.

With the English Draught of the Treaty I send also a Persian Copy of the Articles proposed by Mirza Shuffy ; I also send an App. No. 15. English and a Persian Account of the Mogul Resalah with

its Expence, which Mirza Shuffy assures me is much below the Rate of any Mogul Resalah in his Service, because all his Resaladars have Considerable Jughiers besides their Pay some above a Lack of Rupee[s] per annum. He added that he could furnish Common Horse at a much lower rate, but that he is desirous to send, as we should be to receive, the best Troops he has, that the Service required may be effectually performed and both parties Satisfied.

Upon the whole dear Sir, the Conduct of Mirja Shuffy during this Negociation, has given me a very high opinion of his Honour and Candour; and I think nay firmly believe that it is his Sincere wish to form a l[asting] Union with our Nation and the Navab Vizier for the general Security of the Territories of all. If to this some Stipulation be fixed by the English and Navab Vizier for the Shah's [expen]ces, under whatever Title they please, I should suppose [that] Nothing can Shake the Security of our Nation on this side of Hindostan ; in which Light permit me once more to recommend it to your Consideration.

The last article in the Amir ul Amrah's *sewal* I have not entered in the English Draught because [it] appears to me to be foreign from the Nature of defensive Treaty. With the greatest Respect,

Mirja Shuffy's Camp, Burtpoor,
April 19th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 34

14. Draught of a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, between the Hon'ble English East India Company, and the Navab Vizier ul Mumalick Assoph ul dowla Behadre, on the one part ; and the Navab Amir ul Amrah, Buxey ul Mumalick, Nasir ul dowla, Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre, Zoolficar Jung, on the other : and Superscribed by his Majesty Shah Alum, Badshah Ghazi.

REMARKS

This to the same effect as in the Draught from Mirza Shuffy,¹ but more explicit.

ARTICLE

1st. There shall be perpetual Friendship and Alliance between the English East India Company and the Navab Vizier ul Mumalick Assoph ul Dowla Behadre, on one side, and the Navab Amir ul Amrah, Buxey ul Mumalick, Nasir ul Dowla, Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre on the other ; for the

REMARKS

This from the Drart of Mirza Shuffy Khan, He observed that the Navab Vizier and the English would do as they pleased, but that it wou'd have been highly improper in him to Negociate for himself without mentioning his Majesty. He observed also, that from the Distress His Majesty has experienced, a very moderate stipend from the English and the Vizier would Secure the Shah for ever; and Amir ul Amrah will then be answerable for the Shahs rejecting every negotiation with the French, Tippoo Saheb, or any other Enemies of our Nation; and that in any case where his Majestys presence may be Requisite to forward our National Affairs, the Amir ul Amrah will engage that His Majesty will March on the first Notice.² This seems reasonable enough and worthy of consideration.

This drawn up by Me. The Amir ul Amrah Objected much to the sum of 25,000 Rupees for one Regiment, and I Objected equally to the high price of His Cavalry; at last we agreed to state both agreeable to our several Proposals, and leave it to the Board to confirm them or Reduce both by the same

ARTICLE

purposes of Mutual Defence and security of the Territories under their Respective Authorities and for the Service of his Majesty Shah Alum Badshah Ghazi.

2nd. The Service of His Majesty, and His Satisfaction, are highly desirable both to the English and to the Vizier, because it will be to the advantage and credit of all Parties, that His Majesty should, heretofore, be supported and satisfied.

3d. In case of an Enemy's Invading the Territories now, or hereafter, in the immediate Possession of His Majesty and of the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre Viz. the Provinces of Delhi and Agra, the Countries West as far as³ Patiallah,⁴ East as far as Ferosabad,⁵ Hulwa Gunge⁶ and Attarowly,⁷ South as far as Joypoor,⁸ Jadpoor,⁹ Karowley¹⁰ and Boudawar,¹¹

REMARKS

ARTICLE

measure, (i.e.) if the expence of one Regiment be reduced to 20,000 Rs. (or one fifth) the expence of the Resala shall also be Reduced one fifth, or 18,000 Rupees.

The Delhi Sicca Rupee is equal to the Patna Sonat.¹⁴

See Remark in Article 3d

etc. North as far as Saharanpoor,¹² and the Gaut of Hurdwar—and in case of any Rebellion, Insurrection, or other cause which may indanger the safety of the said Territories—the English East India Company do agree to furnish the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre, with Troops on the Terms of 25,000 Delhi Rupees¹³ per Month for each Regiment of Sepoys of 1,000 Men with 2 Field Peices—this sum to include the Allowances of Officers, Stores and every charge whatsoever.

4th.¹⁵ In case of an Enemy's Invading the Territories of the English East India Company Viz : the Provinces of Bengal Behar and Orissa and Zemin-dary of Benares or the Territories of the Navab Vizier, Viz : the Provinces of Oude, Allahabad, Kurrah, Korah, the Chucklas of Furruckabad and Etawa and the Province of Rohilcund ; or in any case of any Rebellion, insurrection or other cause which may indanger the Safety of the said Territories, The Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre, does agree to furnish the English East India Company with Cavalry, at the Rate of 90,000 Delhi Rupees¹⁶ per Month for every 1,000 effective Mogul Horse¹⁷—this sum to include the Pay of Sirdars, and every other charge whatever, excepting the Prices of Horses Killed by the Enemy, or by forced Marches, which are to be Paid for to the Owners,¹⁸ upon their Swearing to the Value Thereof.

This Article from the Draught of Mirza Shuffy except the clause at the end which He assented to as soon

5th. When either Party shall apply to the other for aid the Forces specified in the application shall be sent with all Possible Expedition and no Delay

REMARKS

ARTICLE

as Proposed.

shall take Place. The Troops so sent shall act under the Orders of the Party to whom they are sent and whenever there shall be no further occasion for their Service they shall Return back on the first intimation Provided the subsidy due to them shall have been Paid, if not, they shall Remain at at the Expence of the Party, from whom the Subsidy shall be due and at the same Monthly Expences 'till the whole shall be discharged.

6th.¹⁹ The English East India Company and the Navab Vizier on one part and the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre on the other Part do agree that Neither of them shall form any connection with or furnish any Military or other Assistance to any Power with whom the other Party shall be at War after the conclusion of this Treaty—if any Person shall fly from the Government of the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre the English and the Vizier shall not give Him Countenance or enter into any Engagements with Him—in like manner if any Person shall fly from the English or the Navab Viziers Government the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre will not give Him any Protection or enter into Engagements with Him.

This from Mirza Shuffy's Draught and Appears very Proper.

7th. The English Minister who shall Reside at Delhy for the Transaction of Public Business shall be a Person agreeable to the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre and on His Part also a Person of Confidence and who shall be agreeable to the English Government shall Reside at Calcutta,

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ARTICLE

This also from the Draught given by Mirza Shuffy Khan Behadre, and seems not only proper but Necessary.

This by Me and Approved by the Amir ul Amrah

8th. That neither the English Minister at Delhi, nor the Officer or Officers Commanding the Troops occasionally acting in aid of the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre, shall interfere in the Government, or collections, without His consent ; nor carry on any correspondence with the Rajahs, Zemindars, or Talookdars of the Country Subject to the Authority of the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre, which may tend to the injury of his Affairs

9th. This Treaty is concluded between the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre, for Himself and Major James Browne on the Part of the Hon'ble the Governor General and Council of Fort William—as soon as the Copy under the Seal of the English East India Company shall arrive from Calcutta, and shall have received the Superscription of His Majesty Shah Alum Badshah Ghazi, in confirmation of it, shall be delivered to the Amir ul Amrah Mirza Mahomed Shuffy Khan Behadre, who at the same time will Deliver to Major James Browne the Counterpart, under His Seal, and the aforesaid Superscription of His Majesty Shah Alum Badshah Ghazi, from which time The Treaty shall be considered as complete and binding on both Parties.

A true copy
James Browne

15. Draft of a Treaty on both Parts that is to say on the Part of the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Nassir ud Dowla Mirza Mahomed Shuffee Khan Bahader and the English Gentlemen.

On an Engagement of Generations after Generations with firm Oaths.

The Friends of both Sides are Friends and the Enemies of both Sides are Enemies.

The performance of Service to his Majesty is beyond all Concerns fixed upon the Noble English Gentlemen and also the Nawab Vizier ul momalik Bahader, because in the Satisfaction of his Majesty as heretofore is Cause of Advantage and Reputation to all Parties.

An Army for the Settlement of the Country and the Soubah of Delhi and Akberabad and towards the West as far as Patialeh, and towards the South as far as Jeypore and Jowdpore and Karrowly and Behudawur, and towards the East as far as Feerozeabad and Huldwagunge, and towards the North as far as Shausenpore and the Frontiers of Hurdwar, and from that side as far as the Boundaries which may be agreed.

If any Person of the relations and Brothers and Children and Chiefs in opposition should wish for Alliance and Friendship with the English Gentlemen they must not support him nor give him place in their Boundaries, and from that side whoever may contrary to the pleasure of the Gentlemen come to this Quarter let him be treated in the above manner.

At the time of sending for the Army which is engaged let not delay take place from both Sides.

An English Gentlemen [*sic*] who will remain here for negotiation (whoever he may be by the Choice and Advice of both Sides) shall be appointed, and from this Side also a person who may be confidential and agreeable to the pleasure of that Side shall reside in Calcutta.

The Gentleman who may reside here for negotiation and the Gentleman who at the time of sending for the Army may be the Chief of that Army must not interfere in the Affairs of the Country and Revenue without my Leave, and must not make a Correspondence which may be Cause of Damage to the Affairs of Government with the Rajas and Zemindars and Talookdars of these Districts.

When the Army shall come from both Sides let the necessary number as much as may be sent for arrive in Time, and as long as they shall be retained for the Affairs whatever Kist and monthly Pay for them may be fixed and engaged let it be paid, and let the Army be under the Authority and Orders of both Sides, and on the Day when the Army shall be dismissed let them immediately march off and go to their own Frontiers.

When a new Country shall by the junction of both Sides come into the Possession of either we will take and Divide it between us upon a half division.

Distribution of the monthly Pay of One thousand Horsemen Russaladar &ca.,

Russaladar	3000
Deputy to the Russala	1200
Deputy Paymaster	} 1000
and Writers of the Office	

 5200

One thousand Men as Follows :

10 Jemautdars @ 500 each	5000
10 Deputy Do. @ 300 each	3000
10 Sirdar Jemautdars 300 each	3000
10 Sons of Jemautdars 200 ea	2000
100 Imtyazes @ 150	15,000
50 Duffehdars @ 100	5000
40 Men without Horses @ 100	4000
20 Vakeels @ 100	2000
20 Nuckeeban @ 50	1000
730 Sawaura @ 60	43800
	<hr/> 83,800
1000	
Bullets and Gunpowder	1,000
	<hr/> 90,000

Expence of a Resala of 1,000 Mogul, as estimated by the Amir ul Amrah.

Expence as proposed by Major James Browne.

1 Resaladar Per month	3,000	Per Month	1,000
1 Naib do do	1,200	do	500
1 Buckshey & Mohurrurs do	1,000	do	500
10 Jematdars ea 500 do	5,000	ea 300 do	3,000
10 Naibs do ea 300 do	3,000	ea 200 do	2,000
10 Jematdars Brothers ea 300 do	3,000	ea 150 do	1,500
10 Jematdars Sons ea 200 do	2,000	ea 100 do	1,000
100 Amtiaziers ea 150(A) do	15,000	ea 100 do	10,000
50 Duffadars ea 100 do	5000	ea 75 do	3,750
40 Bai Aspies ea 100(B) do	4,000	.. ..	..
20 Vakeels ea 100(C) do	2,000	ea 50 do	1000
20 Nuckeebs ea 50(D) do	1,000	ea 50 do	1,000
730 Horsemen ea 60 do	43,800	770 ea 50 do	38,500
	<hr/>		<hr/>
1003	89,000		63,750
Powder & Ball	1,000	Do & Do	1,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Delhi Rupees	90,000	Delhi Rupees	64,750

(A) These as their Name implies are People who serve on more Hon'ble Terms than the common Troopers, & may be compared to our Gentlemen Cadets, they have usually 2 or 3 Horses each.

(B) these are something in the same stile as the Amtiaziers; tho' called Bai Aspies, they have 2 or 3 Horses each, but their Horses are not Registered nor marked as those of the common Troopers are.

(C) These People are Armed and Mounted as the other Horsemen, & are Effective, the[y] carry all Remonstrances from the Men to the Officers.

(D) These People are very useful, carrying Orders, Marshalling the several *Dustahs* or Subdivisions of the Resala, and also carrying Arms and acting as Horsemen.

A true Copy
James Browne

No. 35

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

By this day's Dawk I have the Honour to Send you the Duplicates of my Letter of the 19th Instant and of it's several Enclosures.

Mirja Shuffy having Expressed to me a Doubt of the Propriety of his giving up M. Montigny's Letter, as no actual Alliance at Present subsists between himself and the English, and the Substance of its Contents being in my Memory, I did not press him upon the Subject.

Montigny informs Himut Behader that an immense Force is come out with M. De Bussy, and hourly expected on the Coast : That Sir Edward Hughes after losing half his Fleet in an Action with M. Suffrein had fled with the Rest to Bombay, that in Consequence of this Victory Monsieur Suffrein had Sailed for Bengal and destroyed the Shipping and Several large Forts about Balasore : He adds that he is returned from Balasore to meet M. De Bussy and that the whole French Force being joined by Tippoo Sultan Nizam Aly Khan and the Paishwah will very soon put an End to the British Usurpation in India, in which Meritorious Work, he exhorts Himut Behader to persuade the Shah and his Ministers to take a part. He in another part of his Letter says, that General Coote died some time ago of Vexation at Cuddalore. Throughout his Letter he Speaks of the English with a Virulence which excludes Decency of Expression, always adding to the Name of [our] Nation the Arabick Word *Malaoun*, which I forbear to translate. These are the only Circumstances of any Importance.

We march from hence the 29 [to] the Place of Interview with Sindia ; and after a [few] Days Stay there by the Way of Muttra to Dehly. I am with perfect Respect,

Mirja Shuffy's Camp,
April 27th, 1783.

My Dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 36

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honor to address you the 27th when I informed you that the 29th Ultimo was fixed for our March to meet Sindia at Dolpoor. However in a Conversation I had with the Amir ul Amrah the 28th I perceived that he was unwilling to go to this Conference, partly [of ?] a Suspicion that Sindia would make such d[emands] as he could not properly Comply with and at the same time did not wish to break with him for ; and partly on account of his Majesty's Expressing Uneasiness at Sindia's having particularly insisted on the Shazada's going to the Conference : however He said he should finally determine after the first March ; accordingly we marched 4 Coss, but instead of going towards Dolpoor, we have gone on the Road to Deig, which is our Way to Dehly but quite opposite to the Dolpoor Road : The Meeting is not however positively broken off but I think it most probable that it will.

Herewith I have the Pleasure to send you a Letter from the Rajah of Jypoor¹ : In a short time I expect to forward some Proposals of his to you. He has just made his Settlement with Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany on the part of the Amir ul Amrah. I am with the highest Respect,

Mirja Shuffy's Camp,
May 3d, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your Most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 37

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

This is principally designed to lay before and explain to you, Three Propositions made to me by Navab Afzul Khan¹, Uncle to App. No. 16. Zabita Khan. By this D[awk] I also enclose to your Persian Interpreter Major Davy a Letter from Afzul Khan to your Address, with the Persian Paper of Proposals of which the enclosed is the Translation.

After examining the Paper if you have no Objections to the Proposal, let me take the liberty of suggesting that the adjustment of it should be left to Navab Vizier, and that you will please to write Afzul Khan that you approve his plan, and have Ordered to recommend it to the Nabob Vizier : This I think is as much as can be done in a Matter so immediately

concerning the Vizier, at the same time that without such a commendation, it is certain that he will never attend to any Proposal from the Rohilla Sirdars. For my own part I think that, with proper [res]triction the getting these Sirdars comfortably settled within his Excellencys Dominions is Sound Policy, in a Word it takes them from Number of our and the Viziers Enemies, and adds them to that of our Friends, upon Reasons of self Interest (for I should not venture to propose their Gratitude for the Basis of our Confidence). Men will not Suddenly and wantonly risk the Loss of what is Valuable to them. but other[s] deprived of every Thing will go any Lengths to improve their situation.

It is now above three Months that I have been among these Sirdars, and during that Time no Answers have arrived to any of his Majesty's Shokas or the Amir ul Amrah's Letters, which I have had the Honour to forward to you. I am well acquainted with the Constant Employment you have from the Coast and Europe, and therefore am not Surprized at Some Delay ; but the Sirdars here have no Conception of it and almost doubt by what Authority I am here : Let me therefore Dear Sir, Once more entreat you to give Major Davy Orders to collect and answer all such of the Shokas and Letters as require answering.

My Letters of the 3d and 19th of April, Containing two Proposals respecting the Affairs of this Quarter, of different Kinds, I am extremely anxious to know which of them it is your pleasure to adopt ; as till I am informed on that Head, I am at a Loss how to Conduct Myself. With the greatest Respect &ca.,

Camp at Mewat,
June 1st, 1783.

I am My Dear Sir,
Your Most Faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 37

16. Proposals of the Navab Mahomed Afzel Khan¹

1st. If the Districts across the Ganges² now Farmed by Khojah Ain ul dien,³ be Farmed to Him, he will Pay the same as he does, after Deductions being Allowed for his Troops⁴ : he will further Pay a Nuzzerana to the Company, and will Pay the Amount of the Farm thro' the hands of the Bankers, wherever may be Approved.

2ndly. If this should not be approved, let the 9 Undermentioned Mahls, which were Originally his, be given him and the Terms of Paying Six Annas, and a suitable Nuzzerana be taken for the Company.

	Sherecote, ⁶ including Afzul Ghur, and
	Dhampoor. ⁶
	Bygenoor
	Nuttoor with its Forts
Mahls	Nuggeena ⁷ including Acbarabad
	Biddipoor ⁸
	Jelalabad including Nudjif Ghur
	Mindaver
	Kerutpoor
	{ Jehaloo, ⁹ including Chandpoor

3dly. If this should not be approved, let Sherecote with Afzel Ghur and Nuttoor be given him as a Jaydad and Place to Lodge his Family in, That he may place his Family there, and always be Ready to Appear in the Service of the English.

The Jumma of these 9 Mahls	400,000
Deduct 6 Annas for the Company	150,000
	Rs. 250,000

Out of this, the Family of Afzel Khan to be supported ; and 2,000 Horse and Foot kept up; whenever the Company or the Vizier have occasion for their Service, Afzel Khan himself will appear with 1,000 Horse and Foot, leaving 1,000 to Guard the Passes and Protect the Country

A true Copy
James Browne

No. 38

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My Dear Sir,

It is now above a Month since I had the Pleasure to write you that we were on our March from the Neighbourhood of Burtpoor to Dehly ; and that to all appearance the Interview with Sindia was laid aside, for Reasons which I therein mentioned. After our arrival in this Quarter, the Amir ul Aumrah having taken a Considerable Number of For[ts] and brought the Machery Rajah to make Settlement, began again to talk of the Interview with Sindia ; upon which I observed to him that tho' it was my wish both on account [of] his Majesty having Signified it to be his Pleasure and from my Friendship for the Amir ul Aumra himself, that I should go to the Presence with him and tho' I had agreed to go to Dolpoor when we were at Agra, yet now after having arrived so near the Presence, I did not think I could return back with him to that Interview, without Disrespect to the Shah, and giving the Public Grounds to Suppose, that an unbecoming Suspicion and Jealousy of the English, had produced

in his Excellency an unwillingness that their Agent should go to the Presence; an Idea that could not fail to injure him in the opinion of the English and of the Navab Vizier at the same time that it would be injurious to the Dignity of the English Government and that therefore I thought it my duty to proceed immediately to the Presence, and desired he would obtain my Dismission from the Shazada, Mirja Soleman Shek. Mirja Shuffy replied to this by a Variety of Arguments which I will not trouble you with a Repetition of; the Substance of them was this, that his only Reason for wishing to carry me to the Presence, and to keep me with him till then was the preserving the appearances of Connection with our Government, and thereby to Support his yet weak Authority, especially in the Eyes of the Marhattas; that my quitting him and going to Dehly alone, would destroy that Idea, and Convince the world that the Views of the English have no relation to his Welfare: That therefore it was his earnest Request that I would give him this [sign] of the Friendship of our Government towards him, or (if I preferred it) that I would remain at Deig [till] the Interview with Sindia Should be over: That [if] I could not Consent to either of these, He would procure my Dismission from the Shazada and Send whatever People or Troops I might choose with me to Dehly: That with Regard to my objection to this Journey as disrespectful to his Majesty it was obviated by my having received [the Shah's] order to Stay till the Shazada should go to Dehly; that with Respect to the English Government he doubted not that you would be very much [satisfied] at his having manifested his Sincerity [towards] you by making your Representative a participator of all his negotiations with the Marhattas declaring at the Same time that if I would consent to go to Dolpoor he would not take any step nor hold any Conference without my knowledge and Participation.

By this Conversation it becomes very evident to me that the Amir ul Aumra had still Doubts of our Sincerity towards him and had not a perfect Conviction that in case of any proposals from the Shah which might be to his (Mirja Shuffy's) Prejudice, they would be rejected by us. Under this Impression there was little Reason to doubt his using every indirect Effort to prevent my going to Dehly, or to restrain every Person there from negotiating with me, if I should go till his arrival; and I knew perfectly well by Experience that no person from the Shah downwards would venture to act Contrary to Mirja Shuffy's Will, without the previous Security of an English Brigade within 5 Coss of Dehly: To persist therefore in taking my leave of the Shazada, was to lose Mirja Shuffy's Friendship and Confidence, without the Smallest advantage to the Shah who might even be induced to break off his Negotiation with us altogether; and my quitting the Shazada, Contrary to his Majesty's Desire, might be made the Plea for it: At the same time I thought that if the Plan of Alliance should meet with your approbation, you would be both surprized and displeased, to find that I had disagreed with the future Ally of our Nation on a Point rather of form than of Importance, after all appearances

too had been handsomely saved. At the same time the Shazada, who is very young, sent to express his Concern at my leaving him to remind me of the Shah's desire that I would accompany him (the App. No. 17. Shazada) to Dehly; and soon after I received another Shoka from his Majesty on the Subject which I have desired Major Davy to lay before you.

I still declined coming to an a[bsolute] Decision till the 7th Instant, when I received from Major Davy your answer to Mirja Shuffy's Letter by which I perceived that the Nature of the A[lliance] with him is approved by you, tho' referred [to] the Shah's previous Consideration, (as I often told Mirja Shuffy it would, but he replied that it was improper to trouble his Majesty, till [he] should be assured of your Acquiescence). The p[urport] of your Letter Confirmed me in my Opinion of the Inutility of my being at Dehly before Mirja Shuffy's arrival there. I therefore Consented to go to Dolpoor which I wrote the Shah that I had done, "as it appeared to be his Pleasure and the Shazada's".

The Amir ul Amrah has expressed great Pleasure at your Letter, to which I this day send his Answer thro' Major Davy: [Till] He received that Letter, He was doubtful whether you would be his Friend or not.

We are now in full March for Dolpoor, and were joined by Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany with his Army two days ago. We expect to leave Dolpoor about 14 days from this date, and shall march to Dehly without Intermission, as Mirza Shuffy says.

This Journey appears to me a weak and ill Concerted Measure. If Sindia finds it his Interest to break with Mirja Shuffy, this Interview will not prevent him; nor would it's being postponed have induced him to quarrel with Mirja Shuffy against his own Interest. I shall not fail to transmit you an account of every Transaction at Dolpoor, and am with perfect Respect &c. &c.

Mirja Shuffy's Camp Near Deig,
June 9th, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
Signed. H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 38

17. A Shoka. The Original sent to W. Hastings, and no Copy kept.
James Browne

No. 39

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My Dear Sir,

I had the Honor to address you the 9th Inst. the Duplicate of which

I forwarded the 21st.

As your Letter to the Amir ul Amrah gives me Reason to think that you rather incline to the Plan of an Alliance with him under the Shah's Sanction as proposed in my Letter of the 19th April; than to taking the Lead in the Affairs of this Court, or causing the Vizier to do so, as proposed in my other Letter of the 3d. April I beg leave to put you in Mind of a few Circumstances very necessary to be attended to before I arrive at Dehly.

First as I have not entered into the Detail of this Business with the Vizier for the Reasons assigned in my Letter of the 19th April & have only told him that Mirza Shuffy has proposed an Alliance with the English and the Vizier respecting which you will inform him. It will be necessary dear Sir that you communicate your Sentiments to the Vizier and desire him to send me his orders respecting the Objects he may choose to stipulate for, or everything will be at a Stand.

It is no less necessary that I should be honored with Your Commands as to the Articles in the Sketch of the Treaty which you approve, reject or wish to have modified; that I may negotiate accordingly, as also if there are any others which you would choose to have added.

The Shah has never replied to the Arzee I wrote him on the Subject of Jaiduds, referred to in my Letter of the 3d. of April; but Mujid ul dowa about a fortnight ago, sent me a paper, not under his Seal but written by his order, in which he says "that neither the Shah nor He can venture to give any Engagement unless Troops are previously sent to support them against the Attempts of Mirza Shuffy, but that if the English will send a sufficient Force, he will engage for the Shah's consenting to their possessing the half of every Country which they shall secure to the Shah". This Paper I have not sent you as it is little more than a Paper of News, tho' I believe is to assert Matter of Fact, and that such an Interference of the English would be perfectly agreeable to his Majesty; but then our first Steps must be those I mentioned in my Letter of the 3d. of April.

As you tell Mirza Shuffy in your Letter that such a Treaty may be framed as shall be agreeable to the Shah & to him, I shall use every Endeavour to obtain his Majesty's real Sentiments. I apprehend however that he will only be allowed Freedom of Speech as far as concerns his Demands on our Nation.

The Meeting with Sindia will be the 27th or 28th & he only remains three Days after which he marches to Gualiar, & Mirza Shuffy toward Dehly. With perfect Respect,

Mirza Shuffy's Camp near Dolpoor,
June 25th, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
Signed. H. Abbott

No. 40.

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honor to address you the 25th June previous to the Meeting between Mirza Shuffy and Sindia which began the 28th Ultó., and lasted till the 4th Instant. I write this from the first Stage on our Way back towards Agra. To disincumber my Letter from the Detail of that Meeting, I have put it into the Form of a short Diary which I have the Pleasure to enclose for your information.

As there were two Conferences between Mirza Shuffy and Sindia at which I was not present; tho' I had taken Measure to be informed of what passed at them, yet as I both had, as wished to manifest a Confidence in Mirza Shuffy's Sincerity I waited on him Yesterday Evening to learn from him the Particulars of those Conferences. We had a long Conversation, the Purport of which on Mirza Shuffy's Part entirely agrees with every collateral Information I have received: He said that all Grounds of Suspicion are now removed between Sindia and him; and that they have mutually promised that the Friends and Enemies of each shall be the same to the other. That each shall confine himself to his own Possessions, except by mutual Consent they reduce with their united Forces any Country not now in the Possession, of either, in which Case it is to be equally divided between them. He further added that Sindia told him he was in firm Alliance with the English and the Vizier, and advised Mirza Shuffy to connect himself with them also; and in Conjunction with them, to discharge the Duties of Fidelity and Allegiance to the Shah: To this they added a mutual Promise of Aid in any Emergency, and confirmed the whole by the Exchange of their Turbaus. This Conversation does not in any Thing of Importance disagreed with the Information which I have from different Quarters, nor with the Intelligence obtained by Mr. D. Anderson, and I therefore consider it as authentick.

Mirza Shuffy told me he wished much to have mediated a Peace for the Rana of Gohud, but [that ?] upon his sounding Sindia thro' some other Person, he found that Sindia meant to answer it by similar [...] with the Jauts and Rajpoots. He therefore thought it advisable to be silent on the Subject.

From these Promises (allowing them to be sincere) we may conclude that Sindia has no immediate Desire of availing himself of the Divisions among the Dehly Sirdars, nor does it appear that he wishes to make Mirza Shuffy the Instrument of keeping the English from having any Connection with the Shah as Mirza Shuffy's Enemies have always been exclaiming would prove to be the Object of their Meeting. What his future Designs may be, I shall not pretend to guess, but the present Agreement between them furnishes our Government full Opportunity to form it's Connection with Mirza Shuffy without the Shadow of Offence to Sindea,

which before was not quite the Case.

There does not now appear any Obstacle in the Way of this Connection, but a Backwardness in the Shah ; partly from Resentment of the Affairs in November last, but more from the Instigation of the other Chiefs who are Enemies to Mirza Shuffy I mean Mujid ul Dowla, Afrasiab Khan, and Nujif Kouly Khan ; and I believe even Hamdany also ; but I doubt not of his Majesty's Sacrificing his Resentment to the Mediation of the English and the Vizier, when it shall be offered ; which cannot fail to be considered as a most important Service by Mirza Shuffy. I wish therefore, Dear Sir, if you mean to serve him that you would as soon as may be transmit me an Arzee to the Shah, Strongly recommending Mirza Shuffy to his Majesty's Favour.

If our Government were disposed to take upon them the supreme Government of the Shah's Affairs I have no Doubt of the Chiefs I have mentioned being ready to join any Army we might send to expel Mirza Shuffy ; and indeed Overtures, have been made to me to that Effect, but I never have given them Countenance, because I do not conceive such a plan to be consistent with our present Political Views ; nor with your Orders to me to avoid any Connection [...] with the Person possessed of Nujef Khan's Office, and the Person recommended by the Navab Vizier [both of ?] which Qualifications unite in Mirza Shuffy ; to which may be added his unvarying Professions of Friendship to Us, and ours to him.

As our Arrival at Dehly will only be delayed by the Time spent in conducting the Begum to Deig, let me beg dear Sir, to hear from you before the Negotiations commence ; at least as much as shall put me past Doubt as to the Measures you mean to forward.

Mirza Shuffy tells me that he has just received a Letter from Tipoo Sahib, informing him, that He (Tippoo) has retaken Bidanoor, and made General Matthews and his Army Prisoners, and that he is besieging Mangalore which he expects to take in a few days. He also desires that his Vakeel now at Dehly may be sent to him, and that he shall return in a short Time. With perfect Respect,

Camp 9 Coss from the Chumbull,
July 6, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

Enclosure to Letter No. 40

18. Journal of the Interview between Mirza Shuffy and Sindia.

June 24th 83. Arrived at Sadiepoor¹ 8 Coss from the Chumbull, find that Sindia has not left Gualier tho' he was to be on one side of the Chumbull, by the time that Mirza Shuffy Shou'd bring the Prince to the other. Ambajee² and Himut Behadre are near the opposite side of the River and expected here to morrow.

- 25th Ambajee and Himut Behadre visited Mirza Shuffy, Received with great Honor—the latter made great Professions of Friendship on Sindia's part—it is determined that Mirza Shuffy and Sindia shall meet at the River and after conferring, Mirza Shuffy will bring him to the Shahzada. Scindia left Gualier³ Yesterday.
- 26th Hymut Behadre and Ambajee return to Sindia, the Amir ul Amrah's Tents went to Bow Gaut 3½ Coss Off. Sindia's are on the opposite Bank it is agreed, Sindia shall come over to visit Mirza Shuffy, the latter to cross over and return it, and then Mirza Shuffy carry Sindia to the Shahzada's.
- 27th The Amir ul Amrah being ready to set out his Suvarrey at the Door. Ambajee and Himut Behadre came back from Sindia with advice that he was halted at 5 Coss distant. He objects to advancing to the Banks of the Chumbull till he knows that the Shahzada will come from Sadiepoor to Bow Gaut⁴ Ambajee and Himut Behadre sent Back to satisfy him.
- 28th⁵ Mirza Shuffy and Sindia arrived on the opposite Banks of the River—in the Evening he came over to Pay Mirza Shuffy the visit of condolence on Nedjif Khans Death—with Sindia's Sirdars, Rajah Cheytsing⁶ was introduced to Mirza Shuffy, and immediately afterwards went away—a Detail of this meeting is needless, I shall only Observe that Mirza Shuffy introduced me to Sindia immediately after his own compliments to Sindia were Paid, and before any other Person whatever; no Presents were given to Sindia.
- 29th Mirza Shuffy visited Sindia who introduced Mr Anderson to Mirza Shuffy after general Professions of Friendship, They parted, Presents were given to Mirza Shuffy and all his Sirdars.
- 30th Sindia returned the Visit—at Parting he and his Sirdars received Presents. This evening the Shazada and the Begum⁷ came to Bow Gaut.
- July 1st Sindia was to have been presented to the Shazada to Day, but some difficulties arising about Khelats it is put off till tomorrow.
- 2nd⁸ This Evening Sindia was presented to the Shazada, as was Mr Anderson,⁹ and both Received Khelats,

- 3d Sindia visited the Sister of Nedjif Khan, after this He did the honor of a visit to me—in the Evening I returned it, and Mirza Shuffy visited Mr Anderson.
- 4th In the Morning Mr Anderson returned Mirza Shuffy's visit after which Sindia Marched towards Gualier, and Mirza Shuffy to Sadiepoor the Shazada and Begum having gone before.

A true Copy
James Browne

No. 41

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &ca. &ca.

My dear Sir,

We are still here, tho' by Agreement we were to have left this Place the 29 or 30 Ultio; this has been owing to unexpected Delay in the Arrival of Afrasiab Khan whom the Amir ul Omrah leaves here during his Absence at Dehly. He is now within a few Coss of Us, so that we expect to set out in a few Days.

It was not my Intention to have addressed you again till I did it from Dehly, but a Piece of Intelligence which I have received makes it necessary to trouble you now.

An Arzee for the Shah from Mr. Bussy has lately arrived, the Purport of it to inform his Majesty of his Arrival on the Coast with 12,000 Men and a proportionable Artillery, for the Aid of Tipoo Sultan, and the Destruction of the English; and to solicit the Sunnuds for Arcot, and some other Forts in the Carnatick for Tippoo Sultan, for which he is to pay a *Paishcush* of 12 Lacks of Rupees; which Offer is confirmed by Tipoo's Vakeel at Dehly. Thus far it is certain, because I have the same Account here, and from Mujed ul dowla at Dehly. But when the latter proceeds to tell me that Mirza Shuffy recommends, and that he himself opposes, the Acceptance of the Offer tho', I am very far from placing implicit Trust in Mirza Shuffy, yet I suspend my Judgment till I have better Evidence than the mere Assertion of an Enemy; at the same Time that I think it my duty not to keep it from your Knowledge. In the mean Time I am endeavouring to get a Sight of the Arzee, and the Letters written by Mirza Shuffy on that Subject and I have called on both him and Mujed ul dowla as Friends to the English to discountenance a Negotiation so prejudicial to the Credit of our Ally, Mahomed Aly Khan, the legal Subah of that Province, as far as any Man can be said to possess any Thing *legally* in Hindostan.

There is an Answer which they may give me on the Part of his Majesty, to which I shall be at a loss for a Rejoinder. Suppose dear Sir

they should say "His Majesty is in great Distress for Money, The French and Hyders' Son offer 12 Lacks of Rupees for the Sunnuds of Arcot &c, what will you and Mahomed Aly Khan give him if he rejects the French Overtures?"

Since I came into this Quarter, I have received several indirect Offers of Friendship from the Seik Sirdars but as they did not come thro' authorized People, I paid no Regard to them. At last the publick Vakeel of the Seik Sirdars, who is at Dehly, wrote me the Letter No. 1 of the Persian Correspondence with the Seiks, which I have transmitted to Major Davy. Conformably to your Instructions

that I should carry on no Correspondence with any Powers in a Manner which might be displeasing to the Shah, I wrote the answer No. 2 of which I sent a Copy to Mujid ul dowla which he laid before his Majesty: No. 3 contains the Opinions of the Shah and Mujed ul Dowla on my Letter to the Seiks Vakeel. No. 4 is a second Letter from the same Vakeel to which I sent no Reply. No. 5 is a third Letter from him, accompanying Letters from

Jessa Sing, Laina Sing, and Maha Sing, three of the principal Sirdars, whose Dominions I have mentioned at the Top of their respective Letters. No. 6 is my Answer. No. 7 is the Letter of Jessa Sing. No. 8 is my Answer. No. 9 is the Letter of Laina Sing. No. 10 my Answer. No. 11 is the Letter of Maha Sing. No. 12 my Answer. Besides these, I have received the Letter No. 13 from Sahib Sing, son and Successor to Rajah Amer Sing, the Sirdar of Patiala, to which No. 14 is my Answer.*

From all these Letters the Readiness of these Sirdars to enter into a friendly Communication with the English Nation, is sufficiently evident; at the Same Time they are in some Degree alarmed at the apparent Union between Us and the Shah's Servants, which they are apprehensive may lead to Some attempts on their Possessions, especially as Mirza Shuffy is at the Head of the Administration, whose Activity and whose Enmity they have experienced. Some Pains have been taken by his Majesty and his Ministers to keep up this opinion, which has occasioned the Seiks to write these Letters, and to send a Man on their Part to converse with me and find out on what Terms we will be their Friends. The answers which I have given them are what appeared to me best calculated to keep them in their present good Temper towards Us, 'till I know your Sentiments and the Shah's, respecting a Plan which appears to me practicable with regard to the Seik Sirdars.

I have been informed, and I believe the Authority is good, that the Sirdars of any Considerable Rank, have had no Part in the Devastations carried on between the Suttuluz and Dehly, but have confined themselves

*Enclosures 19—24 correspond with Nos. 1—6 referred to in the letter; enclosures 25—27 correspond with Nos. 7—12, and enclosures 28—29 correspond with Nos. 13—14 respectively.

to the Government of their own Countries, and guarding against the Encroachments of Timur Shah and his Aumils all the Mischief committed in the Royal Districts has been the Work of the smaller Chiefs residing on this Side of the Suttuluz, assisted by the Vagabonds from the Territories all round. These petty Chiefs, the royal army is equal to the Reduction of and have once or twice pushed them to the Suttuluz ; but on these Occasions the powerful Chiefs to the Westward, fearing the Consequences of the others being crushed, and the Mogul Government brought so much the nearer to themselves, have given them Support, and repelled the Royalists. I am now given to understand, that the principal Sirdars, apprehensive of the English and the Vizier joining the Dehly Sirdars, and proceeding to Lahore (as in the Report) wish to secure their Possessions West of the Suttuluz, by a Treaty with the Shah, in which they shall bind themselves to withdraw all Support from the Seik Sirdars between that and Dehly ; who will consequently be soon reduced by the Shah's Troops, and thereby the whole Country relieved from the Invasions to which it is at present Subjected, as well as a considerable Revenue secured to the Shah from the several Districts brought under Subjection ; they say 30 or 40 Lacks of Rupees per annum. To attain this End however, the Seiks say they will not trust to any Mediation but that of the English, but thro' that they will enter into such a Treaty as I have described.

These, dear Sir, are the Hints which I have had of the Wishes of the Seiks ; whether they will be approved either by his Majesty or You, I do not know, but it is absolutely necessary that I should, before I can take any Step respecting it. In the present debilitated State of the House of Timur, perhaps it were better to save a part of its Domain, than by keeping up supported Claims, to lose the whole. It can scarcely ever hope to conquer the Seiks entirely, and even if it did it would only be removing the Barrier against Timur Shah and his Successors, who will consider Lahore and its Dependencies as theirs' by Virtue of the Conquest formerly made by Ahmed Shah Durrany.

The Capture of Gualiar by Sindia, and the Approach of Tokojee from the Decan, have given much Alarm to Mirza Shuffy ; he has within these two or three days repeatedly pressed me to write You that the Views of the Marhattas are extensive ; their Promises not to be relied on ; and that therefore it behoves the English and the Vizier, as well as himself, to be on their Guard. He is very desirous on these accounts that you should immediately consider the Articles of Alliance which he sent you, and from them, and such others as you wish to have inserted, form a Treaty for his Majesty's approbation : This he wishes you to send up to me immediately, with such Powers and Instructions as shall enable me to conclude it without further Delay. That before your answer arrives, We shall have Leisure to get to Dehly, and prepare the Shah for the Purpose, observing at the same Time that if instead of this, the Matter is first to be discussed at Dehly ; then transmitted to Calcutta, debated on there, and perhaps remitted back to Dehly for further Discussion, so much Time will be

consumed that it is probable the Marhattas will in the Interim take some Steps which may embarrass all Parties. I beg You dear Sir, to consider of this, and that you will enable me to answer this Requisition.

This Instant I receive the Substance of Monsieur Bussy's Arzee, and transmit it to Major Davy. Mirza Shuffy in answer to my App. No. 30 Remonstrance against the French Petition assures me that he will take Care that nothing be done respecting it injurious to the Interests of the English or their Ally Mahomed Aly Khan. I am with perfect Respect,

Deig,
Aug. 4, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 41

19. Copy of an Arzie of Lucky Putt Roy¹ on the subject of Strengthening the System of Friendship with the Seik Chiefs addressed to Mayeen ud Dowla Major Browne Bahader.

In Conformity to the Letter of Lalla Ram Sing Jeo² I am from my Heart and Soul ready in the performance of Service and Duty, and the Chiefs of the Khalsajee³ such as Jessa Sing, who is the Highest and greatest and is in that Country called Badshah Sing,⁴ and Muckhull Sing Jeo,⁵ and besides these the other Chiefs great and small will be employed in the Line of Friendship, and the mutual System will become strong, because the Strength of the Chain of Friendship and affection of both Sides has from a long Time existed between the noble Chiefs, and such a System is the Cause of Ease and Rest to the Inhabitants of the World. Write to me whatever may come into your Will that conformably thereto I may make requests. I hope that I may always be honored by the Arrival of Letters.

20. Copy of a Draft from Major Browne to Luckypoot Rai Vakeel of the Seiks concerning establishing sincere Friendship, on condition of Obedience to the Presence, and the laying aside of the Practice of plundering, written on the 24th Jemadiulawool¹ at Syedpore.²

Your Arzie is arrived, and was approved, its contents were understood. What was written of your performing Service and evincing Sincerity, and of the Friendship and unanimity of the Chiefs of the Khalsah, the Cause of prosperity and tranquility to the people being known therein, was particularly understood. Indeed this

fortunate Disposition (which is the most applauded Advantage of the World and in this Universe of War there is not shown a more noble Work, than this) is the Cause of good name to all parties, and of tranquility to Mankind, and the boldness and contempt of Danger, and Courage and Religion, and good Conduct, and adherence to treaties and Engagements of them all, is clearer than the Sun. My friendly Heart cannot chuse but wish for their friendship and alliance. But as these Chiefs have adopted the bad Custom of plundering, and Deviate from and oppose his Majesty's presence and his Nobles and Omrahs, and now having plundered as far as Shahjehanabad have undertaken to depopulate the Kingdom, and the English Gentlemen have no View or wish besides Service and Submission to his Majesty and friendship and Union with the Nobles of the Presence ; how should I employ myself in sending what is proper to be sent, who was merely appointed to perform the Obeissances of Submission to the royal Presence, and maintain the Rules of friendship and Connection with the Nobles of this place, who are labouring with Heart and Soul in Loyalty to the splendid Presence ; but should the said Chiefs, having erased this Practice of plunder and revolt and opposition from the Tablet of their Hearts, employ themselves in Submission and Loyalty to the splendid Presence, and friendship and Good Will to the Nobles of the Presence ; the English Gentlemen are certainly ready from the recesses of the Heart for the Duties of Union and affection, and I would show complete endeavors for mutual Correspondence ; and without these Conditions how should this take place ? Altho' it was not proper I should write these matters to you, yet as your Wisdom was disclosed to my Heart by the sincere Conversation of Lala Ram Sing, therefore a few of the many Occurrences have been written; it is becoming that you represent to the Sirdars something of the above, and know me in every respect desirous of friendship, and attentive to your Affairs.

21. Copy of a Royal Shookah with his Majesty's Signature Concerning the Seiks to Mayeenud Dowla Major Browne Bahader.

Your Arzie worthy of favor thro' the sincere son Mujed ud Dowla passed the royal Sight, and the dispatch for the said son also found the royal perusal. Your Loyalty is fixed to the Throne, as was necessary, you represent in your Arzie that you learnt by the Newspapers the tumults of evil minded Enemies. As all Affairs are deferred for Opportunity, by the Help of God the punishment of the Enemies would soon be brought to a good Conclusion by your faithful Service, and further that you were entirely anxious to kiss the Threshhold of the Presence and to obtain that Happiness soon ; my sincere servant, I trust in your good Service and Loyalty, that you perform whatever Service requires. In like manner also I have determined to strengthen by favors the sincere Servant Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Governor General and yourself. Now that you obtain the Happiness of a royal Audience view the royal favors on your fortunate

Affairs. A perfectly favorable and kind Shooka has been written with the royal Signature for the sincere Servant aforesaid ; having transmitted it enclosed in your own Dispatch and required an Answer send it. Know my Majesty to be favorable and mindful towards you.

Copy of a dispatch of the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader with a Shooka signed by his Majesty to Major Browne.

Before this your friendly letters of the 27th and 28th¹ at Night thro' Selah ud dien Khan² having been sent, as it was contained [*sic*] that I should cause to be written a Shooka in answer to your Arzie and one to the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor General with the royal Signature, therefore there has been delay ; today having caused to be written the two Shookas with the royal Signature I have sent them and have also written a Letter from myself to the said Nawab ; you will dispatch them and know me mindful of you ; and night and day I have my Eye on the road of Expectation, and have offered Prayers, that God may bring you soon to the Presence, and that early news of the coming of the Governor may reach my Ears, and God grant Happiness to my Heart, and that the Governor and yourself view with your own Eyes my affection, and that Elegance accrue to the Empire, and Security to God's People. I am not well while I do not see the said Nawab Governor whom I know to be my Protector ; You write "I shall soon obtain the Happiness of kissing the royal Threshold" what delay then is there ?

22. Copy of a Letter of Luckput Rai Vakeel of the Seiks in Reply addressed to Major Browne.

The Venerable Perwanneh¹ making its glorious arrival bestowed eternal exaltation what was Commanded concerning the Khalseh, that they have habituated their hearts to Plunder and Devastation produced excess of Astonishment, for the first wish of all the Chiefs of the Khalseh is the Population, and tranquillity of the people and Arrangement of the Affairs of the Empire, and it is Clearer than the Sun that as yet all the Chiefs contend even with Atak² and Multan and the Other Afghens &ca., for the Tranquillity of the People ; How then should you think so of Us ? and now that they have penetrated up to Delhy (for this that the Sirdars of Hindostan do not abide by their Engagements) now that the Connections of friendship will commence afresh between the Noble Gentlemen and us, which shall Appear in consequence of Mutual union will be represented by the Means of my humble Understanding ; it is become known, that the Ripening of the Convention of the Gentlemen is public, and also the fidelity of the Khalseh to their Engagements, in this Matter the pleasure of the Divinity is at this time Directed to the tranquillity of the people Since the Gentlemen and we have united in friendship and Agreement, and Rai Ram Sing³ will represent the particulars of Affairs, I am hopefull

that Until I obtain an interview, I may be honored by the transmission of Letters, for on this depends the Happiness of your Servant.

23. Copy of a Letter of Luckyput Rai Vakeel of the Seiks with Letters of some Chiefs, delivered by Gussul Sing.¹

It is represented to the dignified Gentlemen, that ere this humble Arzies in Answer to the glorious perwanneh, were dispatched enclosed in a Letter of Rai Ram Sing Jeeoo. It is Clear that they cannot have passed the bounteous perusal, as an Answer has not been received ; At this Time by reason of the favoring Commands, I have requested Letters of the Sirdars of the Khalseh ; Accordingly a Person of Confidence is arrived here, together with the Letters with hopes of an Interview ; But at present, (because that the Secrets would become public,) I have not seen it advisable to send him; the Letters of the Khalseh I have dispatched with Kussul Sing and Hircarreh;² in like Manner, Rai Ram Sing will cause all affairs to be represented in conversation by the said Kussul Sing. I am hopeful, that Letters to the Khalsa in Answer to their Dispatches with a person of Confidence, will be Sent from the presence, that from that quarter also, Letters and presents may become sent in reply thereto, and I have also excessive anxiety for an Interview untill my obtaining of which I trust to become exalted and distinguished by the receipt of a Glorious Perwanneh.

24. Copy of a Draft to Luckyput Rai Vakeel of the Seiks with the Seal of the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Major Browne Bahader written 6th Ramzan¹ 1197.

Your two Arzies arrived and the Matters written were distinctly understood. What was written of the good Dispositions and Faith of the Khalsah, and their Endeavors for the tranquility of Mankind, that as yet all the Chiefs were engaged in Contention for the repose of the People, as far as Attak and Multan and the other Afghans &ca., and now that they had penetrated up to Delhi, for this that the Sirdars of Hindostan did not abide by their Engagements, they were employed in Desolation. In truth this will be good Dispositions in them. But by reason of Disobedience and rebellion to his Majesty and oppression and ill usage to God's people, they are universally accounted ill advised, otherwise the fidelity of these noble Chiefs to their Engagements and their firmness to Treaties would be clearer than the Sun; now that by the Grace of God the Chain of friendship of the English Gentlemen and the Sirdars of the Khalsah will assume firmness I trust that whatever the arrangement of the Kingdom and quiet of the People may be concerned in will be performed, and as you have properly said and wisely thought the pleasure of the Creator and bettering of the People is indeed known in this. By God's Grace I shall soon arrive also at the Capital and becoming happy by an Interview with you and Mungal Sein, the Seal of Sincerity who is lately arrived on the part of the Chiefs of the

Khalsah, and being informed of particulars. I will send a Confidential Person (who may be discreet and ingenious) with Presents &c to attend on the Sirdars. It is proper that constantly and successively, you make me Cheerful and glad with the fresh Occurrences and particulars of your Parts, and know me favorable to your Affairs.

25. Copy of a Letter from Jessa Sing a Chief of the Seiks to the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla James Browne containing Friendship and alliance.

Your Good Qualities, and fidelity to Engagement, and firmness in Sincerity and Unanimity have reached my knowledge by the writing of Laleh Lukbut Rai,¹ and become the cause of Joy to my heart, and the Establishing of the Duties of friendship is known to be the means of tranquillity to the People, and improvement of the Empire, and arrangement of important affairs, and is clearer than the Sun. Formerly when the Chain of friendship was established between us and the Nobles of the Empire no failure or deviation arose from this quarter in the Compact between us, but from the Variety of the Times, which continue not always alike, the Disposition of the Omras of this time becoming altered, They remained not firm to their mode of Conduct ; it is well, it is past, it is forgotten; Now if you have a value of our friendship and good will, Such Counsel must be taken as may daily increase it. Having Understood that all the Affairs of the English Sircar are entrusted to your Management, I have rejoiced to excess at the Circumstance; God almighty make you happy ! After the Duties of Concord and friendship shall have acquired Solidity (for there cannot be a nobler work than this in the world) great advantages will come to light : what should I write more, besides my Wishes? all Circumstances will be adorned with your Intelligence from the writings of the Vakeels ; make me happy by Constant Letters of your prosperity, for Letters are half an Interview.

Copy of a Draft to Jussa Sing Kelal² a Chief of the Seiks in answer to his Letter. Written 6th Ramzan of the year 1197.

On the Receipt of the favoring Letter full of Joy, for every Letter was filled with variety of friendship and every Line with a thousand affections, great Joy, and Chearfulness unlimited was acquired, the Contents were distinctly understood, I have not intruded on you for Some time with Letters by reason of the great distance, ~~otherwise~~ my friendly heart would be always desirous of the excellent methods of fraternity, and after my arriving in these parts that [*sic*] it was yet remitted and delayed merely in the information that many of your Sirdars had chosen the bad habit of Opposition to his Majesty, and the Omrahs and Nobles of the Presence and were laboring in oppression and Injury to the people, and the English Gentlemen consider no other work but Submission to his royal Majesty,

and union with the Omrahs, and the arrangement of the Empire and quiet of the People ; Therefore considering the Disobedience, in so much that Certain Chiefs are employed in evil works, I have neglected correspondence, which in truth is half an Interview. Now that that Cream of Omrahs^s is employed in forwarding the Chain of Affections I am grateful for the favors and on understanding the good qualities, and excellent dispositions, and Surpassing Kindness of one unequalled in the whole world which were understood in detail from the writings of Laleh Lukbut Rai Joy was occasioned to my affectionate heart. Whereas I was merely appointed to these parts, that whatever the propriety of the affairs of the Empire and the Chain of Friendship between the Nobles of Hindostan and the Sirdars, and the Gentlemen, might depend on, I should labour fully at, Since by the Grace of God your kind Heart is also inclined to this purpose, by God's favor the endeavors will succeed perfectly with mutual Advice, in the arrangements of the important affairs of the Empire from Calcutta to Atak. Now being near arriving at the Capital, becoming gladdened by an Interview with the said Laleh, and with Laleh Mungul Sein, and being informed of the whole of Particulars, I will send to attend on you a person of Confidence, discreet, and ingenious, to construct the edifice of friendship. I hope that you will bestow Chearfulness on my anxious heart with writing constantly Letters which are the means of increase to friendship.

26. Copy of a Letter from Lehna Sing a Sirdar of the Seiks about mutual Friendship and Alliance to the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Bahader.

At this time the Arzie of Lalla Luckput Rai arrived, from its Contents your good Qualities, and Unanimity, became known, and great Joy shewed itself. It is evident to the World and Mankind our former Friendship, which was fixed by Ahmed Shah¹ and Timur Shah, continues till now, and the whole Empire² is God Almighty's,³ to every one He wishes He gives, or it depends on the Sword; and to the period of writing this we have no Designs against any quarter; Day and night I consider the tranquility of all Mankind and the Friendship of good and determined Men. At this season, on hearing of your coming, unlimited Gladness became acquired; whatever Wish may occupy your friendly Heart inform me of it, that efforts may be made on this quarter. Account mutual Affairs as One, separate consideration ought not to have place ; in the World Unanimity and Concord is a wonderful Thing. It is worthy of Men of Determination to make the care of it their object; until the obtaining of a personal Interview which is the essence of Gladness, make me happy, with constant friendly Letters containing your Wishes, what designs and what desires you have and all Details will become known by the writing of the Vakeels.

Copy of a Draft to Lehna Sing a Sirdar of the Seiks, in answer to his Letter.

On the receipt of your glorious Epistle, which was replete with friendship, Encrease of Joy and Chearfulness was summoned^d, and the Contents were perfectly comprehended. Until this period, that mutual friendly Correspondence has not been attended to, was merely by reason of the great distance, otherwise my affectionate Heart would constantly be desirous of and pursuing Correspondence. Since my arrival in these Parts also Delay and neglect has appeared, because of Understanding and Learning that several of your Sirdars have contracted the bad habit of plunder and devastation, and boasted of their opposition and rebellion to his Majesty and the Nobles of the Presence ; and the English dignified Gentlemen do not nor have considered of or wished any other Work besides Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, and affection and friendship with the Nobles and Omrahs, and on consideration that each Sirdar was not attentive to this Work that I should employ myself in Correspondence and raising the Fabrick of Affection and friendship. Now that you have laboured in forwarding Correspondence, you have rendered me obliged and pledged to your Goodness. On understanding the confirmation of the Treaties and Contracts, that whatever was settled on the Parts of Timur Shah, and the Sirdars of those Parts, as yet no conduct or action had appeared in contradiction thereto ; and you were justly inclined to the tranquility of Mankind and peace of the people, my affectionate Heart became gladdened and invigorated. Whereas I am merely appointed, that whatsoever the Arrangement of the important Affairs of the Empire and Unanimity between the Nobles and Omrahs, and Sirdars, and English Gentlemen and Omrahs of Hindostan might be concerned, I should make full endeavors; Since your bounteous Heart is also desirous of Union, by God's Favor complete endeavors will come to light in whatsoever may cause the Establishment of Affection and Unanimity between the English Gentlemen and the Sirdars of the Khalsah. Arriving soon at the Capital and becoming happy by an Interview with Luckput Rai and Mungul Sein and being informed of all particulars I will send a Confidential Person to strengthen the Edifice of friendship.

27. Copy of a Letter of Meherban Sing¹ a Chief of the Seekers on the Subject of Friendship and Alliance thro' Mungul Sein to Major Browne.

From the information of my Vakeel I have learnt the particulars of your goodness and Sincerity, and I received pleasure and Satisfaction beyond Calculation. At this Time Mungul Sein has been dispatched to that Quarter, he will arrive near you. Whatever the Said Lalla shall make known you must consider to be true. Every Concern which may be desired in your Heart you must explain to the said Lalla : it will come to pass conformably to his Information. Many Circumstances have been written to Lalla Luckput Roy Vakeel who negotiates on the part of the Khalsajee at Delhi with the Omrahs and Rajas. The above named will be made happy by an Interview with you and he will represent the facts and the

Informations you must consider them to be founded in truth, and until the happy [event ?] of a fortunate meeting you must make me happy, because in this point there will be an Encrease of Friendship.

Copy of a Draft to Meherban Sing in Answer to his Letter written the 6th Ramzan in the year 1197.

Your Epistle of Friendship which was full of the Jewels and the Ornaments of Friendship arrived in a happy Season and created Pleasure. That to this Time I have not been active in promoting a System of Letters is solely on account of my learning this, that as many Chiefs of that place had adopted Intentions of War and Plunder and Violence and Oppression to the People, and besides had opposition and Enmity to his Majesty and the Noble Omrahs, and the exalted English Gentlemen who never brought to pass any Act which should be cause of Displeasure to his Majesty or Distress to the People consider particularly fidelity and Obedience to his Majesty and Friendship and Intimacy with the Princes and Grandees to be for their own Happiness and the Ease of the People, I was kept back from this Honor. As from the Information of Lalla Luckyput your Virtues and good Qualities have come to Light they have Caused a thousand Satisfactions and Pleasure. As I am appointed to strengthen the Foundations of Friendship and Affection between the Omrahs of Hindostan and the Chiefs and the noble Gentlemen, I shall soon after my Arrival at the place of royal Residence be made happy by an Interview with Lalla Luckyput Roy and Mungul Sein whom you have sent solely to make known the Desires of your Heart, and a Confidential Person who may be worthy of Secrets shall be sent from this Side also; and by the Blessing of God affection of the Heart between the noble English Gentlemen and the Chiefs and Omrahs of that Country and allegiance and attachment to his Majesty will by proper Exertions and mutual advice and Counsels be brought to Effect. I hope that you will always make me happy by writing pleasing Letters.

28. Copy of a Letter from Maha Raja Rajegaun Maha Raja Seajee Sing¹ Chief of the Seeks on the Subject of Friendship and Alliance to the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Major Browne Bahader.

My Desire to obtain an Interview with you which has no End being postponed till an opportunity I represent that Your virtues and great Qualities have been learnt from the Letters of Misser Shitab Chund² and confirmed my Heart with pleasure and Satisfaction. I hope that you will always maintain the System of Correspondence. This matter can cause an Encrease of Union. By the Blessing of God where the Line of Friendship and Intimacy has gained Strength, God be praised that it will encrease and enlarge day by Day. And whatever Business and Concerns may be worthy of there Countries you will without hesitation make me happy by the

Information thereof, Always be encreasing the Gladness to my Heart by writing Letters.

29. Copy of the Answer to the Letter of Maha Raja Rajegaun Seeajee Sing Bahader under the Seal of the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Bahader.

The Receipt of your Letter full of pleasure was cause of various Satisfactions to my friendly Heart. Whatever was written by the Pen of Affection of establishing a System of Correspondence and planting the Roots of Friendship became an encrease of the Society of Union and a giver of Light to the Breast of Unanimity. Certainly this excellent Disposition, which is worthy to all both high and low and creates Ease and advantage to the Times, will be cause of reputation and of tranquility to the World. As the Courage and good Disposition and propriety of Opinion and perseverance in Engagements of your Family are praised and boasted of, my friendly Heart is desirous of Union and Sincere Friendship; but as these Chiefs have made the System and Custom of plunder and rapine their distinguishing Symbol, and entertain opposition and Enmity to his Majesty to such a Degree that the sublime Palace from want of vigilance did not remain protected from the attacks of this Nation ; and as the noble English Gentlemen besides Obedience and fidelity to his Majesty and a System of Friendship and Intimacy with the Princes and Grandees have no other object in their Sight and Heart, by what means could the establishment of a System of Correspondence with the noble Chiefs be effected ? Altho' from the mouth of Misser Shitabchund I learnt that your army was not united and active in this Dispute, yet without this matter being ascertained who and who of these Chiefs have the Saddle of allegiance on their back and the Ring of Obedience in their Ear, the dispatch of Letters is far removed from the Prudence of foresight. Therefore I write with the Pen of Friendship that whatever may be your thoughts on the above written Subject and about obedience and allegiance to the royal Commands and about assisting in the putting an End to the Disturbances of the Chiefs causing Disputes you must write fully and explicitly that the System of writing may be established ; and you must always make me happy by the Dispatch of friendly Letters.

30. An Arzie from M. de Bussy to his Majesty. see No. 33.
James Browne.

No. 42

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honour the 4 Instant to write You fully on several Points which appear to me very deserving of Consideration ; in an especial

Degree, the Proposal of Mirza Shuffy, and the Terms in which Monsieur Bussey's Arzee speaks of our Alliance with the Marhattas : this added to the Affair of the Ranger ; the Support of Cheyt Sing, the Correspondence with the Rohillas ; and the great Anxiety shown by Sindea to establish himself near the Jumna (in which unluckily he has Succeeded) give but too much Countenance to the Belief universally entertained by the Natives, that the Marhattas only wait for a favourable Opportunity to break with Us;¹ and the Pleas for the Attack it is said will be, the Shah's Tribute² and the Restoration of Cheyt Sing. I have reason to think that a Wish to engage Mirza Shuffy to unite with him on a future Occasion in the former of these Pleas, has been the Cause of Sindea's great Earnestness to enter into Alliance with him : Mirza Shuffy is however so jealous of his Authority being swallowed up in the superior Power of the Marhattas, that I am convinced if He can succeed in connecting himself with the English, he will go any Length to keep the Marhatta Influence from Dehly ; but if not, there is little Probability of his entering into a War for the Sake of conciliating a Power which pays no Regard to him or his Interests. In the Event of his being obliged to subscribe to the Marhatta Counsels, should they be (as there is so much Reason to think) inimical to Us, are we not left alone to fight at our own Expence, and in our own Dominions, the Moguls, Marhattas and Afgans ? for not an Ally shall we have in this Part of India, but the Navab Vizier, who has neither Force nor Influence at present.

Mirza Shuffy informed me today that Sindea has called upon him by Virtue of their Agreement for four Battalions and two *Resalas* of Mogul Horses : That he has endeavoured to put off complying with the Requisition, but he imagines that Sindea will insist on the Point. He says He neither knows how nor where Sindea means to employ them, nor has he any Right to enquire, having no Allies whose Interest He ought to attend to. He then proceeded to declare that in two Months Time³ the Marhattas will be at Dehly, if not prevented by the proposed Alliance between the English, the Vizier, and the Dehly Sirdars ; and concluded by calling on me in the most pressing Manner, to write and explain this to you ; that whatever may be the Event, it may be known that he has not fallen Short of the late Navab Nujif Khan, in seeking for the Friendship of the English. When I pressed his writing to You himself, he said (as he did a few days ago on the same occasion) that he could not, you having written but One Letter for four that he had addressed to you, and that therefore it would be degrading in him to write any more 'till he should hear from you. I have so often expatiated on this point, that I have nothing to add : I shall only therefore repeat, that Mirza Shuffy considers your Silence at this Juncture as little less than a Declaration that you are resolved to have no Connection with him. I hope Dear Sir, you will remove this Idea if it is false ; or if it is right, that you will please to advise me, that I may know how to act : As also that the only Step for Supporting any other Party, will be taken ; I mean sending a Brigade to join them.

Since writing this, I have been with Mirza Shuffy by his desire, and

have had a long Conference with him, which shall be the Subject of a Letter to you Tomorrow. I am with perfect Respect, My dear Sir,

Deig.

Aug 7, 1783.

Your most faithful servant,

Signed. James Browne

A true Copy

H. Abbott

No. 43

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

Yesterday Evening Mirza Shuffy Khan repeated all that I informed you of in my last on the Subject of the Designs of the Marhattas, and declared in the clearest and most unequivocal Terms, that he wished for the Friendship and alliance of the English Nation, preferably to any other Connection whatever ; and that had the Treaty with him been concluded when first proposed, he should have avoided any close Union with the Marhattas: That even now, if the Treaty be immediately concluded, every thing may be kept in a State of security and Repose, by the Strength which he will derive from the English, and they from him; but that if any delay should take place, the Marhattas will go to Dehly, and that then he must consider them, and act towards them as his only Allies; and that consequently should their Views respecting us, be hostile, he will be obliged to take part in them. He therefore requests I will write to you in the most pressing Terms, to comply with the Proposal made in my Letter of the 4th Inst ; for that two Months more is the longest Delay that can be expected in the Movements of Sindia.

When I remarked to him that you only deferred concluding the Agreement 'till the Shah's Sentiments should be known to you ; and therefore urged his getting to Dehly as soon as possible, he said, "that is very true, and I shall go to Dehly in a few days ; but does not Mr. Hastings know that his Majesty's first Requisition on which he will make every thing depend, will be Money: will Mr. Hastings pay him any ? And if he will not, and his Majesty of Course refuses his Consent, will Mr. Hastings consequently lay aside all Connection with me, and leave this Country a Prey to whoever chooses to seize upon it ? If not, if his Views are to Strengthen and secure the Peace of this Side of Hindostan ; why put it in his Majesty's Power to stop the negociation, by insisting on what the English do not mean to comply with ? Is it not much better to conclude the Treaty with me, and leave me as his Majesty's Servant to satisfy him of the Utility of the Measure, and solicit his Ratification of it ; by this Means the Treaty may be executed in time to answer the End of our mutual Strength; but by the other Way, the least Evil to be expected is, a Delay that will destroy all the designs of the Alliance".

I have given this in Mirza Shuffy's own Words, that you may more clearly judge of the Principles that dictated this Declaration.

After the Discussion of this Affair, followed a Conversation on a most disagreeable Subject, which it is with Reluctance I am obliged to repeat to You ; but it is indispensably my Duty to do So. Mirza Shuffy told me that he had received Information from Lucnow that by the Advice of Hyder Beg Khan,¹ the Vizeer had determined to bring his grand-Mother, the Widow of Sufdar Jung from Fyzabad to Lucnow, with a View of getting a further Sum of Money from her, by seizing on her Eunuchs, digging up the Apartments of her House at Fyzabad, and putting her own Person under Restraint ; He told me that he was well convinced that this is an Act unknown to our Government, and especially to you Sir; that he knows very well that You have not ever departed from your Friendship for the late Navab Shuja ul dowlah² ; nor your Attention to the Honour of his House; and that he knows also, that your Humanity interfered last Year to put a stop to the disgraceful Restraint of the Begums; that therefore he is well persuaded that when you shall know that such a Scene is going to be renewed, and that the Vizier is proceeding to such Measures against the Widow of Sufdar Jung³, that She has declared her Determination and made Preparations to blow up her House and Herself, you will give Such Orders as shall prevent it. That if such a Circumstance should take place, there is not a Man in Hindostan who will consider it as the act of the Navab Vizier, but as that of the English, since a Small Part of the Influence which we exercise in that Country for our own Advantage, would have put a Stop to the Vizier's unnatural Behaviour. He therefore solemnly calls on me as your Representative in this Part of the Country, to give you Intimation of this, and to entreat your immediate Interference to prevent a Step which would destroy all Confidence in our Nation throughout Hindostan, and excite the bitterest Resentment in all those who are connected by Blood with the House of Sufdar Jung. He concluded by Saying that "If the Vizier had so little Regard to his Family, to his own Honour, and to his natural Duty, as to wish to disgrace his Father's Mother for a Sum of Money; let him do so as far as seizing on the whole of her Property of every Kind; but let him send herself up to Dehly or Agra, and poor as I am, I will afford her a Maintenance, which tho' not befitting her Rank, yet shall be possessed with Security and Honour".

These are as nearly as a Translation will admit, the very Words the Navab used, and when I remind you that Sufdar Jung was Brother to Mirza Shuffy's grand-Father, there can be no doubt of what is meant by this Declaration, or what may be expected if the Measure of persecuting the old Begum be persisted in. From the state of Affairs all round, and the Characters of the Parties, I should expect an open Rupture to follow very soon after.

Since either as Allies or as Enemies, we may soon have occasion to know the Army of the Dehly Sirdars, I send you enclosed
 App. No. 31. an Abstract of the whole Army divided into five *Resalas* (similar to our Brigades) as they stood the first Muster after Mirza Shuffy's

nomination to the Office of Buckshy : the Original of this, with minute Details of each Resala and each Corps in Persian, are in my Possession and I have reason to believe them as authentick as any Returns of Hindostany Armies can be : Not that they are not minute enough in their Details and frequent in their Musters, but the constant Influx of Recruits, and the Defection and consequent self-Dismissal of whole Troops, from Want of Pay and other Causes, make it impossible to ascertain the actual Force at almost any Time: A considerable Deduction should therefore be made for those moveable Troops; perhaps one Man out of five. The original Paper was procured with some Trouble and Expence.

Let me now, dear Sir, entreat you to immediately consider, and take some decisive Measures on this Occasion. The Time admits of no delay. If Mirza Shuffy is to be supported, let the Treaty be sent up to me: If any One else is preferred, a Brigade towards Dehly. Any Attempt to take a Medium between these Steps, will produce an Union of all Sides against Us. Hitherto I have by fair Words and great Attention kept on good Terms with all Parties, waiting the Result of your Determination; but this Management cannot much longer serve. Something more than Words is expected from Us. We are too near the Scene of action to be neuter; and I assure You this Court is not like what it was two Years ago, nor is Mirza Shuffy like his Predecessor in Office to be left to himself. If we do not make him our Friend and Ally, be assured he will not long be on Terms with us at all. I am With perfect Respect,

Deig,
Aug. 8, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne.

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 43

31. Memorandum—Particulars of the Servants of the royal Sircar for the 24th Year¹ corresponding with the Year 1196.

Stationed in the Mahals ²	..	..	10,250	Men	34 Guns
In the Armies	..	..	80,967	Men	230 Guns
			<hr/>		
			91,217	Men	264 Guns
Horsemen					
Moguls ³	..	...	13,655		
Hindostanny ⁴	..	..	10,686		
Rohilla ⁵	..	..	3,480		
Jedhutta	..	..	3,375		
Marattas ⁶	..	..	950		

Toorksawars ⁷ in	}	100
Hindostanny Clothes		
with Sumroo Saheb ⁸		

-32,246 Men

Footmen of the Battalion &ca.,

Tulungas ⁹ of the Battns.	17,731	in	29	Battalions
Nejeibs ¹⁰ with Matchlocks ¹¹	17,864	in	16	Battalions
Men with Dummakas ¹²	1,020	in	1	Battalion
Rohillas ..	5,500			
Golandazes &ca. ..	5,991			
Mewetties ¹³ (Spies)	780			
Europeans ¹⁴ with Samroo Saheb	85			

58,971 [sic]

Guns

264

91,217 Men 264 Guns

Russala of the Nawab Buksheulmomalik Amcer Ol Omra Zooficar
ud Dowla Bahader.¹⁵

Horsemen

Mogul	7,307
Rohillas & Afghans	1,875
Jedhutta	500
Toorksawars	200

9,882

Footmen

Telingas	10,515
Nejeibs with Matchlocks	8,632
Men with Dummakas ..	1,020
Europeans ¹⁶ ..	85
Golandazes &ca. ..	2,617

22869

Guns

115 Guns

32,751 Men 115 Guns

Russala of the Nawab Ashruff-ud-Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader.

Horsemen—Mogul	1,695
Raja Himmud Bahader ¹⁷	2,200
Marattas	550
Hindostanny	1,080
Jedhutta	405

5930

Guns

46 Guns

5,930 Men 46 Guns

Footmen

Telingas	6757	
Nejeebs with Matchlocks	1000	
Golandazes &ca.	1078	
	<hr/>	8,835

14,765 Men 46 Guns

Russala of the Nawab Iftekar ud Dowla Mahomed Beg Khan Bahader
I croze Jung.¹⁸

Horsemen—Mogul	7,796	
Marattas	400	
	<hr/>	8196

Footmen—Telingas	.. 5,480	
Nejeebs with Matchlocks	1,425	
Rohillas	.. 4,200	
Golandazes	.. 1,600	
	<hr/>	12,705

Guns **48 Guns**

20,901 Men 48 Guns

Russala of the Nawab Seif ud Dowla Nejif Coly Khan Bahader.

Horsemen 4,650

Footmen—Telingas	1020	
Nujeebs with Matchlocks	4575	
Golandazes &ca.	485	
Mewatties (Spics)	780	
	<hr/>	6860

Guns **15 Guns**

11,510 Men 15 Guns

Russala of the Nawab Ameer ud Dowla Mirza Zeen ul abdeen Khan Bahader.

Horsemen—Mogul	1,832	
Hindostanny	1,586	
Jedhutta	205	
Men with Zumboors¹⁹	65	
	<hr/>	3,688

Footmen—Telingas	3959	
Nujeebs with Matchlocks	2232	
People of the Artillery	.. 200	
Rohillas	1,300	
	<hr/>	7691

Guns **14 Guns**

11,379 Men 14 Guns

No. 44

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

When I last Year proposed that an Agent on the Part of the English Government should be sent into this Quarter, you may recollect that one of the principal Reasons I assigned was, to counteract the Designs and the Negotiations of the French; who I suggested might turn their Thoughts to raise a Storm against Us on their Side of the English Possessions, upon the Foundation of the Disgust entertained against our Nation by the Shah and his Ministers, for Causes which it is needless to repeat. The Perusal of the Persian Papers which I this day send to Major Davy, will convince you how well founded my Suspicions were; but that they did not go far enough, for every Thing which I spoke of as a probable Contingency had actually taken place before the Death of Nujif Khan, as far as depended on Negotiation; and that an Expedition to this part of Hindostan, seems to have been one of the Objects of Monsieur de Bussy's Armament.

As this is the first Time I have made use of a Cypher; and as you never favoured me with the One, which I so often wrote for; it is requisite to inform you that the Key of the One I now use, is with Major Davy.

Before I enter into any Comment on the Persian Copies which Major Davy will lay before you it is absolutely necessary that I inform you, that I owe the Procurement of them to the Friendship of Mujed ul Dowla; whose Safety, as well as my Faith and Honour are pledged, that it be not discovered here, whence they came: Any Explanation with Mirza Shuffy must discover the Channel of Information. Any Communication of it to Moonshes at Calcutta, would come thro' the news Writers to this quarter; and I have therefore cautioned Major Davy, not to trust the Perusal of them to any Person.

No. 1 of these Papers, is the Copy of a Letter from Mirza Shuffy to Mehdy Kouly Khan,¹ accompanying the Addresses of Monsieur de Bussy, and Monsieur de Montigny,² to the Shah; and recommending that a favourable Answer be returned to them: Allowing this to be authentick as the Authority from which it comes gives us Reason to think, it certainly affords sufficient Grounds to doubt the Sincerity and be on our guard against the Conduct of Mirza Shuffy; This I shall take Care of as far as depends on me: At the same Time I beg Leave to assure You Sir, that it is my opinion, that any Change of this kind which may have taken Place in his Sentiments, arises Solely from the Idea of your not wishing to support him; and to the Advice of Sindea and his Agent Himut Bahader;³ for since the Congress, and the subsequent Return of Himut Bahader to this Camp, an obvious Change has taken Place in the Behaviour of Mirza Shuffy. Still however he has a sufficient Jealousy of the Marhattas, to make him wish for an Alliance with the English; but I believe the Ardour of that desire is much abated, from what it was three or four

App. No. 32.

months ago. I repeat my dear Sir, with the greatest Earnestness, that if we do not make Friends and Allies in this Quarter, we shall very soon have powerful Enemies. For that Purpose, there are two ways of acting, both which I have long ago detailed to you, with the Mode of executing them; but to this Instant I am totally ignorant to which you inclined; not having been honoured with a single Answer to any Letter I have addressed to you since I left Calcutta.

The first and most splendid Method is to take the Shah immediately under our Protection, as proposed in my Letter of April 3d; but for this end Troops must *first* be sent : 'Till they are at Hand to support him, what Engagements can he enter into ? He has lately assured me thro' Mujid ul dowlā, that half the Country shall be ours, and adds, "When they shall have arrived and modelled my Ministry as I wish, who is there to dispute with them about the Share they shall choose." If this is the Plan you prefer, why, My dear Sir, do you not honour me with your Commands, that I may secure to Us the People who are daily soliciting me and to whom I know not what Answer to give, till your Will shall be declared respecting Mirza Shuffy. I mean Mujid ul dowlā; Mahomed Beg Hamdany; Nujif Kouly Khan; and Afrasiab Khan, the latter especially, whom the People like much for his aff[able] Behaviour; and to whom (He says) the Shah wishes to give the Office possessed by Mirza Shuffy. I am morally certain that if this should be the Plan adopted, these Sirdars would join the English as soon as they should appear. By thus taking the lead, and placing our Friends in the Ministry, supported by a Body of our own Troops on *Jaidads*, we can be certain of excluding every Enemy, so long as we shall behave with Justice and Moderation; but for this end, we must make the *first* Step on his Majesty's Word. Legal Forms of Assignment cannot be expected from him, destitute of Force for his Support, and surrounded by Spies and Enemies. What I now write about the *Jaidads* is all I can write after seeing his Majesty; therefore dear Sir do not wait for further Satisfaction on that Head before you take your Resolution. If you will send Troops to obey the Shah's orders, I will be answerable that they get both Allies and Jaidads; this is upon a Supposition that the Shah declares his Aversion to Mirza Shuffy remaining in Office, (as Afrasiab Khan says,) and that his Majesty shall nominate Afrasiab Khan to it. On the other hand, if your wish is to secure an Ally in this quarter, without either Eclat, or Expense; why not, dear Sir, send up the Draught of the Treaty; the Recommendation of Mirza Shuffy to the Shah, and the power to me to conclude it as soon as his Majesty shall give his Consent. This will secure Mirza Shuffy to us, who from being kept in Suspense has already closed with One of our most *dangerous Friends* (for I will not call Sindea our Enemy *yet*), and will perhaps soon quit all Ideas of Connection with Us; in which Case we are totally excluded from Dehly, and the Shah in the Hands of our Enemies, instead of our being supreme at Dehly, or at least having a powerful Ally there. The Maxim that neighbouring States should be secured as Friends or disabled from injuring as Enemies,

is too well known to you, dear Sir, to be quoted in Support of the present Case; the first must be obtained by some Attention to their Interests, the second, by Force or Intrigue.

No. 2 and No. 3, are Copies of Arzees from Monsieur de Bussy to his Majesty Shah Alum, from which it appears that the latter App. No. 3^d. has been induced by his Distresses, and the Advice of those who were then in his favour, to solicit the Aid of the French; and that a plan was on foot for the Junction of their Forces against Us. The One of these appears to have been written immediately after Monsieur de Bussy's Arrival; the other some Time after. This latter mentions the Design of sending Monsieur de Montigny to the Shah. These Arzees require no Comment, they speak fully and forcibly for themselves; and sufficiently prove the Necessity of our securing ourselves on this Side.

No. 4 is an Arzee from Monsieur de Montigny, in which he also mentions his Intention of going to Dehly. He speaks of our App. No. 34. Treaty with the Paishwah,⁴ as waste Paper; and of Himut Behader (now Mirza Shuffy's prime Adviser) as the Friend and Advocate of the French. Two Questions arise on this which it is requisite to receive your Orders upon. One—what Steps I shall take if Monsieur de Montigny comes to Dehly? The other, whether it would not be proper to devise some tale of a Reconciliation with the Vizier (of which he is desirous) to draw Himut Behader down to Lucnow, and then treat him as he deserves? He is cunning, but very self-interested Men are not hard to deceive, and I should think Deception a Virtue in such a Case.

Let me close this, by entreating you, my dear Sir, to be prompt and decisive; the Field is now open which may else be Shut for ever and a few Months may give Us a Marhatta Ministry, *perhaps a Marhatta Vizier* at Delhy. I am with perfect Respect,

Deig,
Aug. 19, 1783.

My dear sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 44

32. A Letter from Mirza Shuffy to Mehdy Kouly Khan. this paper is not to be found, but is of little Importance.

James Browne

33. Copy of an Arzie from Lieutenant General Monsieur Bussy Grand Croix de Saint Louis Commander by Sea and Land. Written in the Persian Language.

Petition thro' Colonel Demontini¹

Before this when your Majesty sent a Letter of favor the Copy of the Letter came to me: much pleasure was received; and your Majesty wrote² that taking a large Army of the French King we should defeat and destroy the English. Your Majesty may set your mind at Ease and be convinced that, God be praised, taking a very large Army of my own King I shall be honored by Kissing your Feet. My King has stationed under me 10,000 Horsemen³ and Europeans by Land and 20 large Ships⁴ that we might destroy the execrable English and whatever places of the Omrahs of Hindostan the English have taken, having beat them and driven them away we might restore to the Omrahs. Such Orders have been issued by my King, and all our Army has been landed in Health and Safety, and now having prepared our Army we are going to meet the Enemies to make War; and being arrived here I will send another petition to your Majesty and your Majesty ought to forbid the Omrahs that they should not make a System of Friendship with the execrable English. Your Majesty should well consider that the Intentions of the English are very bad, and your Majesty will place great confidence in us, that, God be praised, by the Assistance of the Almighty our Army and your Majesty's Army being united we shall in conjunction destroy the execrable English. The English have bad Intentions that little by little they may get the whole Country into their own possession. Of the Arzies in the French Language⁵ which I sent for your Majesty I will send Colonel De Montini with this Copy. And as it is the Order of my King that I should create friendship with the Viziers of your Majesty and should bring to completion the Affairs of the Sircar, your Majesty will give belief to whatever Circumstances and particulars Colonel De Montini may write—because the said person is Attached to the King and is a Man of trust with the Vizier⁶ and with me. You will assent to them with the Ear of approbation. By the Blessing of God I will a few days send Colonel De Montini to your Majesty and whatever are the Circumstances and particulars of my King's Heart Colonel De Montini will make known in secret and private—we are always praying to the Almighty that your Majesty may be victorious and that your wicked Enemies may always be ruined and destroyed.

Copy of an arzie of Monsieur le Marquis de Bussy.

The petition of the Servant of the French King Monsieur le Marquis de Bussy.

His gracious Majesty that is to say my Sovereign seeing the trust of my Sincere Fidelity has honored me with the Command of all the Forces by Land and Sea, therefore having made known the Friendship which exists in the Mind of the French King I offer prayers for your Majesty's Happiness. Of the gracious paper that is to Say the Letter which was bestowed upon Monsieur le Colonel De Monti⁷ to this purport, that the assistance of the King that is to say my Sovereign was desired and wanted by your Majesty,

that making a junction with your Majesty's Army we should labour for the destruction of the execrable English, the Said Monsieur sent to me a Copy with a hundred honors and exaltations, and the said Copy arriving in a fortunate Moment which had a thousand Dignities in its front made me happy by the Contents of your royal orders, and I raised my Cap of Honor and Distinction to the Heavens. As long as I have the ability and the power and the Strength I will out of regard to the Satisfaction of your Heart make no neglect in giving assistance to your Majesty and I never will be deficient; on this Subject I make a valid Engagement from the truth of my Heart. Let your Majesty be assured that from the presence of the King that is to say my Sovereign this Business of Duty has been settled, that having landed in Hindostan with a force of 10,000 Horse and 20 Ships of War I should entirely destroy the execrable English, and recovering the Country from their possession I should restore it to the owners of that Country. By the Blessing of God and the Power and Justice of your Majesty being arrived Safely in a happy moment in the Country of Hind with a force of Europeans we are returning grateful Thanks to the Almighty. Your Majesty should know that I am now preparing and Ordering my Army to seize the Opportunity. In the Instant of our marching from this place it well certainly be made known to your Majesty. My further request of your Majesty is this that if perhaps at this Time the English worthy of destruction by coaxing your Majesty should propose an Engagement, you should place no dependance upon their Engagement, and not turn your Ear to their wicked Words that is to say not listen, because the English Character is breach of treaty and wickedness of Heart and attempts upon the property of Others. Beyond all others, that is to say better, is it known to your Majesty. God is witness that if the Assistance of the King that is to say my Sovereign and the powerful Army of your Majesty should be joined it is certain that the Roots of the English with wicked Dispositions who have Intentions to bring into their own possession all the Country of Hind will be soon destroyed and even annihilated. My Petition will arrive at the glorious presence thro' Monsieur le Colonel De Monti. Orders have been sent to the said Monsieur for strengthening and establishing the System of Obedience and sincere attachment to your Majesty and for treating and negotiation with the Noble Vizier of your Majesty. Your Majesty should know that Monsieur le Colonel De Monti is of good Family and a Chief of Rank, for which Reasons great Confidence is placed in him by the King that is to say my Sovereign and by his Vizier and by me; I hope that your Majesty's Eye of Confidence may also be turned upon him. To represent the particulars of the Wishes of the Heart of the King that is to say my Sovereign, I will soon make Colonel De monte Glorious by an Introduction, that is to say I will send him to your Majesty. I pray for the Encrease of your Life and Dignity and for the Completion of your Wishes.

French King Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de Saint Louis.

At this time is just arrived a Packet of Letters dispatched two Months and six Days ago for me from Monsieur le Marquis De Bussy at Cuddalore who is landed with a large Force to our Army, and it is reported that our whole Army having prepared the Stores and necessaries of War will go forward to meet the English for War and Battle: and in the Packet of Letters he has sent a humble Arzie for your Majesty in the French Language and a Letter for the Peshwa the Chief of the Marattas in the same manner also. It is necessary that your Majesty should be acquainted with the said Arzie; God be praised that by the blessing of God your Majesty's Army and our Forces being united we will defeat and expel and drive away the execrable English and whatever property of the Omrahs the English have taken thro' Insolence into their own possession, it is the Order of my King that having released it from them by War we should restore it to the Omrahs: and the English have bad Intentions. Your Majesty will perceive it. My Heart is very desirous to see your feet and I shall soon by God's Grace in a few days be honored and Monsieur le Marquis de Bussy has said that you should not make peace and friendship with the English and that you must be firm—God be praised that in a few days you will receive complete pleasure, and Monsieur le Marquis De Bussy will properly settle the whole Country. I reside at Poona;¹ and should any word come to your royal Ears from the English that the Peshwa the Chief of the Marattas has made Peace with the English your Majesty will not give belief to this Word, because this Word is false and unfounded. In a few days all the Particulars written will be known by your Majesty. An Arzie in the French Language with a Persian Copy put together in a Bag will trouble your Majesty by its arrival. I hope that you will cause that Arzie in the French Language to be read by some wise and learned Person, so that the Request and Object of the Arzie may be learnt; and some other Matters Maha Raja Himmud Bahader will verbally represent to your Majesty: and your Majesty will not make Treaties with the English. This much Monsieur le Marquis de Bussy has said, and it is my Desire that by your Orders being arrived there I may say to your Majesty some Matters which the King said to me. What more shall I represent except Respect?

No. 45

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

This day I have sent to Major Davy the following Papers which He will lose no Time in laying before you.

A Letter from Mujid ul dowlah covering a Shoka from his Majesty¹ in which you will perceive yourself called *Furzund Saudatmund*; on the

great Distinction of which, I need not remark to you dear Sir, who are so conversant in these Matters, nor on the Forms of Acknowledgement expected on the Occasion. What is of infinitely more Importance than honorary Titles is the clear Declaration which the Shah makes of his Wishes ; no less than to put the English in full Possession of the Management of his Affairs : And as he also says just after, that whatever Mujid ul dowla writes, is the same as if written by himself, I beg leave to send

the Copy of a paper in my Possession : It is the
App. No. 35.

Dustkhut of Mujid ul dowla to an Address from an Agent of mine expressing my Wish to have some good written authority for the grant to be made to the English for the Support of Troops ; It is written by himself, and the Hand writing is perfectly well known. Besides the Facts' being confirmed by Mujid ul dowla's own Letters. What further previous Security can be given ? If an Idea be entertained that his Majesty and Mujid ul dowla will deny their own Hand-writing any other Engagements would be equally vain as these in this Paper is marked No. 1.

No. 2 is the Copy of a Shoka to me received last Night, in addition
to what is said to you. I beg your Attention to what he

App. No. 36.

(the Shah) says respecting the French, Tippoo Sultan, and Mahomed Aly Khan; It is evident that nothing but our totally rejecting him, will throw him into the Hands of our Enemies and in that Case, no Person in the World can blame him.

No. 3, 4, and 5 are Extracts from the Correspondence of my Agents,

do. do.

with me and with each other, on the Points of Business now in Agitation, and are very well worth having translated for your Information, as they may be depended upon.

Though I answer all the great Ends of my Mission where I am, by having obtained his Majesty's Sentiments as to the Aid he wishes for, and the Provision that he will make for the Expense of it : as well as in having got Intelligence of the Machinations of our Enemies ; and a knowledge of the Characters and Views of the principal Persons in this Quarter ; yet I am much concerned that the Suspicions and Fears of Mirza Shuffy, should so long have kept me from the Ceremonial of being presented to the Shah ; I trust however you will be persuaded that no Efforts have been wanting on my Part to accelerate this Matter. I have repeatedly urged on to the very Point of breaking with Mirza Shuffy had I gone further and set off in defiance of him, though he would not have openly quarrelled with our Nation forbidding me to proceed, he would indirectly have compelled his Majesty to give me my Dismission, to the Destruction of every View which you had in sending me up. There are two Ways indeed by which this might have been counteracted. By the Vicinity of our Troops, or by an Alliance with the Chiefs at Variance with Mirza Shuffy ; but neither of these could take Place, except by your Special Authority which I had not. The affair has now reached its Crisis by the arrival of Afrasiab Khan² ; and the only point remaining

to adjust is, whether Mirza Shuffy, Afrasiab Khan, or both, shall accompany me ; a Circumstance which will be determined in eight or ten days ; and in the Interim, my Tents go on the first Stage. The Shah is naturally impatient for my Arrival, but he will hereafter be convinced that Attachment to his Interest has been the sole Motive of my Delay. With perfect Respect,

Deig,
Aug. 23d, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 45

35. Copy of an Arzie from Mirza Hedayet Ulla Beg¹ for the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader.

In obedience to your Highness's Orders I wrote 2 or 3 Times to Sullah ud Deen Mahomed Khan on the Subject of Half [*sic*], and your Highness also had written that whatever Hedayet Ulla Beg should write should be considered as your own writing. At this Time Sullah ud Deen Khan has written to me that the writings and Directions of your Highness are laid upon their Head and Eyes but that the Gentleman is not perfectly satisfied I hope from your favor and Kindness that you will write with your own Hand 2 Words of the Half Share from the receipts of the Country. It was necessary and I therefore represented it : "Commencement of the Signature² of the Nawab Mujid ud Dowla Bahader" of the Country which from the good Conduct of the Noble Gentlemen may now come into the royal Possession one half for the Royal Exchequer, and the other half for the Pay of the Force which shall be at the royal Presence and for the Settlement of the Country, have been fixed by the enlightened Presence. It is under me.

36. Copy of a Shooka of the royal Presence on the Subject of royal Favors to the English and not accepting the Peishcush of the French addressed to the Nawab Mayeenud Dowla Major Browne Bahader Sellabut Jung.

Your Petition with the Arzie of my fortunate Son Omdut Omrayee¹ Ameer ul momalik Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Governor Bahader Jelladut Jung came under the royal inspection thro' the Hands of my worthy Son Mujid ud Dowla Bheram Jung Bahader. Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader had fully represented the particulars of his Attachment. Accordingly I have granted a royal Shooka in answer to it. Dispatch it speedily.

The favor of the Presence to the said Bahader is to such a degree that let no doubt of it enter your Thoughts. Accordingly the French Chiefs have a desire to pay Peishcush to the Presence and to be in attendance at the Presence. To this time I have not agreed to it; and they make a Request of the Sunnuds of Arcot for the Son of Hyder Naig and they have other desires and wishes; I have never consented. I have fully spoken to my said worthy Son you must consider the Writing of my said Son truly as my Words, and whatever my said Son may write you must know your well being to be therein: in encreasing the receipts of the Presence the advantage and well being of the Company's Concerns is for this that in the Presence an Army and its Stores should be prepared and I should have made the Governor my Son, therefore the well being of the Company and of my said Son is in the Victory and Strength of the Throne. On the day when you shall obtain the honor of an Introduction to the Presence you will see the favors of the Presence towards yourself. For the rest know my favors to be encreasing towards you.

Particulars which have been learnt from the Writing of Confidential Persons.

Three Petitions of the French in embroidered Bags for the enlightened Presence the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader has sent in his own Letter to Mehedy Kooly Khan, and has written very pressingly to Cause to be written Shookas in answer to these Petitions in a proper Style and to send them with Copies of them soon and speedily to him. Accordingly Mehedy Kooly Khan having delivered them to the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader, the said Bahader and the said Khan on the 24th Shabaun² in conjunction laid them before the enlightened Presence.

Other Particulars which have been learnt from Delhi by the Letter of a Confidential Person.

From the coming of the French and their junction with the Son of Hyder Naig Ameer ul Omra Nassir ud Dowla Bahader is much pleased. The Vakeel of Hyder Naig has negotiation for the Sunnud of Arcot with the Sons of Raja Munnyram, and the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla refuses. The French in Union with the Son of Hyder Naig promise much money. Ameer ul Omra has intrigued with the French for the destruction of the English and is by no means sincere with the Major. If the Major will come alone without an Army to the Presence he will soon by the Advice of Ameer ul Omra be dismissed from the presence. Such has been fixed as the Advice of Ameer ul Omra Mirza Mahomed Shuffee Khan. As yet the truth of the French Engagement is not known how large a sum they are to give; having hereafter discovered it it shall be written. I am day and night in this Cogitation.

By the Orders of the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader it is learnt from the same Confidential Person.

An Arzie of the Nawab Nassir ud Dowla Mirza Mahomed Shuffee Khan is arrived with a Petition of the French for the royal presence. The French have written that they are come for the assistance of the Son of

Hyder Naig with an Army of 12,000 and much Artillery ; let his Majesty bestow a Sunnud of Arcot in the name of the Son of Hyder Naig.

Particulars written the 2nd of the month Ramzan⁵ Friday dispatched by a confidential Person from the Royal Residence.

It is learnt that the French cause to be given by the son of Hyder Naig to his Majesty the sum of 12 Lacks of Rupees and request the Sunnud of Arcot with some Forts : altho' the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla has refused yet the Sons of Raja Munnyram negotiate, and the King also has heard that they give so large a Sum, and the Nawab Nassir ud Dowla also has written that having completed this Negotiation they should speedily give him Intelligence. At present the Desire of money is come into the Business. It is necessary to give Information to the Major because the Business must be considered. Nassir ud Dowla on his part does not neglect. He has written these Circumstances to the Marattas also. We must see what answer comes. In fact a Negotiation for money is in Hand. May God end it well. Having represented it to the Gentlemen write an Answer. I am day and night thinking of this business.

The Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader also is without Hopes from the English, yet on his own part he refuses—he does not give up the friendship of the English. On this Business it is necessary to write to the said Nawab, but let it not be known to be from me.

Copy of the Particulars of the negotiation and Correspondence of the Nawab Ameer ul Omra according to the Letter of a Confidential Person.

The Nawab Ameer ul Omrah wrote very pressingly to Mehedy Koly Khan and the Sons of Munnyram for the answer to the Petition of the French, but the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla for preserving the friendship of the English Gentlemen has delayed sometime in causing the answer to be written. But now again Letters of Ameer ul Omra of the most pressing Style are arrived that soon and speedily they should cause to be written and sent Shookas in answer to the Arzie of the French and a Memorandum of the Title of Teepoo Sultaun⁴ the son of Hyder Naig with the rank of 7000, and 7000 Horses, and a fringed Pallankeen,⁵ and an oval Umberalla,⁶ and a Flag.⁷ Being without remedy the Nawab will act in conformity to the pressings of the Persons, and Baul Muckund⁸ Vakeel also will be dismissed; but in the Sunnud of Arcot the Nawab makes a stand and has not as yet given it.

Copy of an Arzie from Mirza Hedayet Ulla Beg containing the particulars of the royal Residence to Major Browne.

Before this I sent to you some Arzies and papers : they will have come under your Inspection. At this time I represent the fresh Events. From the Letters of the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader Mehedy Koly Khan and the Sons of Munnyram Vakeel being very active about the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader have requested that having soon caused to be written an answer to the Petitions of the French he should give them, and having made to be signed by the Presence the other Requests of the son of Hyder Naig he should dismiss the Vakeel, and they will without delay pay the Peishoush money to the Presence. The Nawab Mujed

ud Dowla left this Business during some time for today and tomorrow; at last the Persons of that place requested answers; having made Drafts they delivered them to the said Nawab that he should bring them after causing them to be signed by the Presence. The Nawab from his Wisdom and for preserving the friendship of the English brought them after procuring the Signature of the Presence to this purport that he should write only favors and kindness. Accordingly I saw with my own Eyes this Signature of the presence : and the Nawab as far as his power will not give the Sunnud of Arcot and does not covet a large sum, and he is day and night in the friendship of the English and the recollection of the Governor and you, and frequently says that he has thrown his Life and Property and Honor into the Danger of Destruction for preserving the friendship of the English.

Today which is the 15th of Ramzan⁹ Thursday a Khellaut¹⁰ of 5 Cloths with a Serpeatch of Jewels has been bestowed upon Muckund Row the Vakeel of Hyder Naig for his Dismission. It was not at all the Will of the Nawab Mujid ud Dowla. In the Way which the Persons have caused the Dismission of the Vakeel if in the same Way they should take the Sunnud of Arcot, it is a Matter without remedy. Sullauddien Khan will represent the remaining particulars.

No. 46

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

Your long Silence with Respect to the alliance proposed with Mirza Shuffy ; your leaving it depending on the Will of the Shah ; His silence on the Proposals of Mirza Shuffy on that Head; and above all, the recent Proof of his Disaffection towards the English, by his Efforts in favour of the French and Tippoo Sultan, have given me so Strong Reason to believe that Alliance will not take Place, that I have thought it my Duty to give Ear to the Proposals of Afrasiab Khan, So far as to lay them before you for Consideration.

Previously to his arrival here he wrote me that he had something of Importance to communicate to me ; and about the same Time Mujid ul dowla wrote me, that Afrasiab Khan would communicate to me a paper from the Shah, to which it was expected by the latter, that I should pay attention. After the arrival of Arasiab Khan at this place, He informed me (with many Professions of Loyalty to his Majesty and of Friendship to the English) that he had a Paper from the Shah for me, and many Matters of Importance to communicate, but that he desired a previous Engagement of Secrecy and of Friendship from me ; I told him that the Engagement of Secrecy I would make with pleasure, because the Performance of it was in my own Power, and injurious to no Man. That with Respect to Friend-

ship in a private Sense, I was no less ready, and for the same Reasons : But if he meant Friendship in a publick national View, I was not authorized to form any such Connection without Instructions from you. But that as I know our Government had no Views but the Service and Satisfaction of his Majesty, I would further engage to forward to you any Proposal that He (Afrasiab Khan) should make with the Shah's Approbation, and use my Endeavours to promote it. As he expressed himself satisfied with this, I gave him the Roka No. 1 of the Persian Papers in the enclosed Packet to Major Davy ; in Return he gave me the Roka No. 2, expressing his Loyalty to his Majesty and his Friendship to the English as also promising Secrecy. He then gave me the Paper from the Shah of which No. 3 is a Copy, by which I am required to connect myself with Afrasiab Khan for his Majesty's Service. This was confirmed by a Letter from Mujid ul dowlah, No. 4 which adds, to conclude a Treaty with Afrasiab Khan on your Part.

Afrasiab Khan then proceeded to observe that in nine Months which Mirza Shuffy had been in Office, instead of conciliating the Shah, he had constantly neglected him: Instead of raising Money for his Majesty's Use and the pay of the Army, He had thrown the whole Country into Confusion, by ill timed Hostilities against some of the Zamindars and ill executed Agreements with others, without getting any Money from either. That he has formed Connections with the Marhattas, whose Friendship is only a Cover to their Views on the Government of this Country, and Expulsion of the Mussalmans ; and has disgusted his Sirdars to such a Degree by his violent Temper and unbecoming Language, that they only wait the Signal to quit, or even to join against him, of which He produced several Proofs. He then told me that in this State of Affairs, it is the Shah's Wish to resume the Office possessed by Mirza Shuffy, and bestow it on Afrasiab Khan: That He is sure of the Aid of Mahomed Beg Khan and Nujif Kouly Khan, as well as of the greater Part of the Resaladars and Commandants even in Mirza Shuffy's own Division ; and hopes for the Aid of the English and the Vizier to support him when in the Station to which his Majesty wishes to raise him : That for this purpose he is ready with his Majesty's Approbation, to enter into a Treaty of perpetual Friendship and Alliance with the English and the Vizier ; and to assign Jaidads for the Payment of Nine or Ten Battalions, to be Stationed in the Neighbourhood of Dehly for the Shah's Service : If therefore our Views are to serve his Majesty, we can require no further Satisfaction or Assurance than the Shah's and Mujid ul dowlah's Letters afford, that Afrasiab Khan is the Man, He (the Shah) wishes the English to support, and on his own part He (Afrasiab Kn.) has given every Proof he can of his Sincerity to our Nation, by the Treaty which He offers ; and that as to the Disposition of the Chiefs in his Favour, He trusts that I will inform You.

All that he entreats is, that you will not render every Design and Effort fruitless by Delay, but if you approve the general Plan of his Proposal

that you will form upon it the Draught of a Treaty and send it up, with Such Powers as may be proper to me, to execute it on the Part of the English Government : At the same Time giving me Authority as soon as the Treaty shall be concluded, to call on the Viziers in his Majesty's Name for such a Force from the English Troops acting under his (the Vizier's) Authority, as joined to the Party of Afrasiab Khan, shall insure Success without any Risk to the Safety of the Shah, or of the Inhabitants of Dehly. In the Packet to Major Davy, is a Letter from Afrasiab Khan to your Address touching on these Matters in general Terms, and referring you to me for Particulars.

Afrasiab Khan is so very explicit and clear in his Proposal, that there is scarcely any thing which I can add to it, excepting on the Subject of the Disposition of the other Chiefs in his Favour : on this Head I beg leave to inform you that I am satisfied from the written Oaths and Engagements of Mahomed Beg Khan and Nujif Kouly Khan, as also of several of the principal Sirdars in Mirza Shuffy's Division, that they will support Afrasiab Khan in every View in which the Shah's Service and Friendship of the English are connected: I have seen these Writings and similar Ones have been offered to me. This Scheme is doubtless highly beneficial to the Company besides all the Reasons urged in my former Letter, this Treaty takes off the Expense of one third of our Army.

The Draught of the Treaty ; the Power to execute it ; and afterwards that to call in the Shah's Name for Troops, are indispensably necessary ; without them, nothing can be done.

You must determine on all these Points, as also whether Mirza Shuffy's Conduct respecting the French and Tippoo; his Violence about the Begums ; the Disaffection of his Sirdars ; and the Aversion of his Majesty to him, be sufficient Ground for quitting the projected Alliance with him.

I have so often expatiated on the ruinous Effects of Procrastination in this Affair, that any Thing I might now say, would be only Repetition. If the Service of the Shah and the Reputation of the English in this Quarter, be connected as closely as they appear to be ; I have no doubt of your now forming and executing the requisite Measures : Every Side have now made their Offers ; you have only to choose which you like. I am here ready to see it fulfilled. With perfect Respect,

Deig,
Aug. 24, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 46

37.¹ Copy of the Oath between the Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla

Afrasiab Khan Bahader and the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Nesseer ulmouk Major Browne Bahader Sellabut Jung confirmed by Swearing.

The Engagement is this, that in bettering the Concerns and refreshing the Business of the Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla Bahader, from hence as far as Calcutta and in the presence of the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla, Mr Hastings Governor Bahader Jelladut Jung, I will labor from my Heart and Soul. In this Point no Deviation shall ever happen ; and this Secret and Negotiation between [us ?] shall not be Discovered and made known to any Person. The Oaths of Christ and of the Virgin Mary are between [us ?].

38. Copy of a swearing Letter from the Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla Bahader to Major Browne.

You have requested in your own Concerns of me an Engagement of Secrecy. I swear by God and the Prophet of God and the holy Writings and Abass Aly that I am ready from my Heart and Soul in conjunction with the English to perform Service to the royal Presence and to give Satisfaction to his Majesty, and that whatever words of Secrecy and Negotiation shall pass between you and me it shall never never be discovered and made known to any other Person without your Leave. On this Point keep your mind easy. What more shall I write on this Subject.

39. Copy of a royal Shooka to the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Bahader on the subject of strengthening Friendship with the Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla.

As Union and Love between the royal Servants and sincere Welwishers who from their Hearts and Souls are Welwishers and attached to the everlasting Dignity is agreeable to me, and that becoming together one Heart and one Soul they should employ themselves in Attachment and Obedience to the Presence ; accordingly your real Attachment and Allegiance are recorded in my royal Heart, and Ashruff ud Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader Sabut Jung also is from his Heart and Soul a Welwisher and studious of my Satisfaction ; therefore it is written with the Pen of favor that you should bind and strengthen in such manner the string of friendship and Love that by no means Distinction may remain between. The said Bahader also will not be negligent of your Satisfaction you must consider the strengthening the System of friendship between you and the said Bahader to be cause of great pleasure to the royal Heart. For the rest know my favors to be encreasing towards you.

40. A Letter from the Nawab Mujed ul dowla the Original Sent to Mr Hastings. and no Copy kept.

James Browne

No. 47

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

Mirza Shuffy finding that his Affairs in this Quarter, especially the Disaffection of Mahomed Beg Hamdany,¹ will not admit of his proceeding to the Presence for some Time, was very desirous of persuading me to remain with him a little Longer, but finding I would not listen to any such Proposal, He has given me my Dismission, and I shall set off for Dehly the 1st. of September. Notwithstanding the pretended Satisfaction of Mirza Shuffy on this Occasion, he is much displeased at my going without him ; and as I learn, has written to Mehdy Kouly Khan, and Mirza Zein ul abodein to endeavour to persuade the Shah to talk to me in such a Manner respecting the Arrears for Bengal ; about Allahabad, Korah, &c, as shall disgust me and make me take my Leave, I have however taken Measures with his Majesty and Mujid ul dowla, to prevent this.

I think I can keep every Thing smooth with all Parties till our Government takes a decisive Part, if it be done in any reasonable Time. I am with perfect Respect,

Deig,
Aug. 28, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Yours most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne.

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 48

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

I have frequently mentioned to you my Suspicions of the Views of Sindea; that if He should come to Dehly after the Fall of Gualiar and Gohud,¹ and we should not before that have secured ourselves on this Side, either by Alliance or Supremacy ; the Moguls, Afghans and Marhattas, in Conjunction, will make Use of the Shah's Name to forward their own ambitious Views, in a Breach with the English and the Vizier ; blending together the Claims of his Majesty's Tribute ; the Paishwa's Chowt² ; with the Reestablishment of Zabita Khan and Cheyt Sing in their Countries. In Confirmation of these Suspicions I have received Intelligence on which I have some Cause to rely, that two days ago a Letter arrived from Sindea to Mirza Shuffy, written in Consequence of hearing that I was on the Point of leaving Mirza Shuffy on my way to Dehly. In this Letter Sindea says "If you let him go, He will gain Access to the Shah and establish the

English on such a footing at Dehly by getting the Shah to call in the Assistance of the English Troops, that all our Hopes will be blasted : By every Means therefore, detain the English Minister with you, a Month or Six Weeks longer : as soon as the *Dussara* arrives, I will leave some Chiefs to carry on the Seige of Gohud, and join You with all the Rest of my Forces, when we will proceed together to the Presence and execute our Plans."

Allowing this Intelligence to be true, as I have Reason to think it is ; it is pretty plain what the Plans must be which our Friendship to the Shah would destroy ; and I can only repeat what I have so often said, that if we do not in a very Short Time, make firm and powerful Connections here, we shall have a most formidable Confederacy to act against, at our very Doors.

This urges me also to mention the Expediency of our having a Strong army in the Doab and Rohilcund ; but above all, to close without delay, either with Afrasiab Khan or Mirza Shuffy : Not a day is to be lost my dear Sir, for it may require some Time to remedy the evil Effects of any needless Delay just now, and you will allow that nice Forms give way to great Emergencies. With perfect Respect,

Deig,
Aug. 30, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 49

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

When I had the Honour to address you the 28 Ulto. I expected to leave this Place the Beginning of the present Month, and my Tents went on to Barsana, 7 Coss on the Way to Dehly, where they still are; but I have been induced by the Entreaty of Afrasiab Khan to stay till the 15, the Reasons he gave appearing to me to arise from his Attachment to the Interest of the Shah and the latter having so recently ordered me to act in Concert with Afrasiab Khan. The Circumstances are briefly these. When Mirza Shuffy found that He could not go to Dehly with me, knowing the Aversion of his Majesty towards him, he was apprehensive of some immediate Effect of it upon my arrival at Dehly; such as the March of the Futtaghur Detachment¹ or the Removal of the Shah from Dehly to Lucnow ; and therefore sent a Man of Trust to Dehly to conciliate his Majesty by giving *Teeps* for certain Sums of Money, and also several *Pergunnas* for his Household ; he had however been so long in coming to this Resolution, that there was not Time for executing it before I should

arrive unless I could be prevailed upon to stay till the 15., He therefore sounded me upon the Subject, but finding me obstinate, He resolved if I persisted to restrain his Majesty by any Means from having the Power to do him Mischief: As this was a Step which Force only could prevent, and as I neither have any, nor the Means of procuring it, except by my Management of these Chiefs, I gave way to the Request of Afrasiab Khan to wait till the 15; within which Time Mahomed Beg Hamdany having joined him, He will be in a Condition to prevent Mirza Shuffy from acting in Opposition to his Duty, should he be inclined.

I have before informed you of the Disaffection of the Chiefs to Mirza Shuffy; this is principally owing to his Pride, and want of Politeness to the Mogals; add to this that a cruel Famine² rages in the Country, and the total Want of Rain insures the Continuance of this Calamity: Mirza Shuffy's Enemies have artfully circulated a Belief that this is the Consequence of the Support given to him in Opposition to the Shah's Will, and the dying Request of Nujif Khan:³ The Mussulmans are not very moral Men, but being disgusted with Mirza Shuffy and somewhat superstitious, I can assure you this Story has a great Effect in alienating People from him. You may judge of the Temper of those People by Mahomed Beg Hamdany sending me word that he learned that Mirza Shuffy opposed my going to the Presence, and that if I would only write him (Hamdany) He would be at this Place in One Night, and spread Devastation round the Country till Mirza Shuffy should be compelled to do whatever I might desire, assuring me that not a Man would stir in Mirza Shuffy's Favour; An Offer which I of Course declined.

Among others who have turned their Faces from him, is Himut Behader, who has lately paid Court and made many Professions to me of Attachment to his Majesty, the Vizier, yourself, and Afrasiab Khan: The first and last, say he is to be believed; but I own I am shy of a Man capable of such opposite Engagements as he has formed: I send a Letter from him to your Address, enclosed to Major Davy, which I beg Leave to advise the answering with many Compliments, as He is a Man of Ability, and may be of use here after; if he finds it for his Interest.

In my Letter of the 28. Ulto. I informed you of my having written App. No. 41. to the Shah and Mujid-ul dowla, to prevent the Effect of Mirza Shuffy's advice to endeavour to disgust me on the Subject of Bengal, Allahabad, and Korah. In Reply I have received a Shoka of which I enclose a Copy to Major Davy No. 1, in which he declares that Nothing shall be said on the Subject, which can give you Dissatisfaction, and expresses himself throughout in terms of the greatest Regard for our Nation.

I send you also a paper of News from Herat Kundahur, Kabul, Multan, Kushmeir, Jumbo and Lahore, as late as to the 12 of Ramzan.

Since I begun this Letter I have received a Proposal from his Majesty to solicit from You a Loan of ten Lacks of Rupees⁴ on Interest: As I did not think it proper to give a Refusal on my own Authority, I beg Leave to

lay it before you for an Answer ; and at the same time have wrote to Mujid ul dowla to know what Reply I must give you, should you require Security for the Repayment. I am with perfect Respect,

Deig,
Sept. 8, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 49

41. Copy of a noble Shooka of the royal Presence to the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Major Browne Bahader in answer to his Petition.

Your Petition¹ came under the royal Sight and obtained the honor of royal perusal. You had represented that having been sent by my fortunate Son the Governor solely to obtain the honor of kissing the Threshold of the royal Presence you had entertained the Wish that without delay you should accomplish your Desire. That repeatedly royal Shookas had been issued that attending upon the victorious Stirrup of the Presence you should be honored by the glory of kissing the Threshold in company with Ameer ul Omra Bahader who will soon arrive at the presence after leisure from the Settlement of those Parts—that in Obedience to my Orders you had delayed that at this time when successive Shookas containing a pressing for a speedy arrival at the Presence had been issued you had taken leave of the Ameer ul Omrah Bahader² and had determined that marching on the 2d of Shawaul you should obtain the Goal of your Desire. My faithful Servant, The particulars represented and the other Matters which you wrote in the Dispatch for my worthy Son Mujed ud Dowla Bahader Bheram Jung, and my said worthy son presented to the royal Sight the original of it, became fully known to me, and all your Representations were learnt and discovered. My royal mind from learning that you had taken leave of Ameer ul Omra Bahader and intended to come by Stages to kiss the Threshold of the royal Presence became pleased. It is very well and proper. Come soon to the Presence and know me to be wishing for You. Of the Matters which you wrote to my worthy Son I have told the answer to my worthy Son, he will write. Knowing it to be from my sacred Tongue and the Order of the Presence being comforted from all alarms and apprehensions come soon to the Presence with Ease of Mind. Accordingly before this in a royal Shooka to my fortunate Son Ameer ul momalik Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader I have written that to preserve the Heart of my fortunate Son I have to this time conformably to the Request of my said worthy Son not accepted the Peishcush of a large Sum which the Son of Hyder Naig agreed to for obtaining the Sunnud of Arcot. From

this Matter you may know to what degree extend the favors of the Presence upon you. For the rest know me to be in the recollection and attention of your Concerns.

No. 50

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c.

My dear Sir,

The Persian Paper which Major Davy will lay before you (I having transmitted it to Him this day) will convey to you the Proposal of Afrasiab Khan, to enter into the same Treaty with the English¹ and the Vizier, as was before planned for Mirza Shuffy, with the Strongest Assurances of his Loyalty to the Shah. Your speedy Answer to the Letters of this Party is very requisite to keep me out of great Embarrassment. I am with perfect Respect,

Deig,
Sep. 12, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 51

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

My writing again from this Place will be explained to you by 4 Papers, which I this day send to Major Davy to lay before you.

The first is a Shoka from the Shah to your Address,¹ written with his own Hand, and explaining in the fullest Manner his Determination to deprive Mirza Shuffy of his Office, and to bestow it on Afrasiab Khan.

The Copy (No. 1) is of a Shoka to me, written also with his own Hand containing the same Explanation, and calling upon me to aid and act in Concert with Afrasiab Khan, in all Respects.

No. 2 is the Copy of another Shoka specifically calling upon me to remain with this Camp till Afrasiab Khan Shall go to the Presence. The Reasons of this are partly those I assigned in my Letter of the 8th, partly fear for the Safety of his Son,² now in Mirza Shuffy's Power, Should he conceive any Alarm from my going away in Opposition to his Wish; and partly to give Credit to Afrasiab Khan by the apparent Countenance of our Government, at the Eve of this Revolution.

No. 3 is a Letter from Mujid ul dowla. explaining and confirming App. No. 44. the Shokas,

In my former Letters I have explained to you the Wishes of Afrasiab Khan to connect himself with the English and the Vizier : I have pointed out the Engagements of Mahomed Beg Hamdany, Nujif Kouly Khan, and the Troops in General to him : It only remained to satisfy you that he is the Person whom his Majesty wishes you to support, and that he declares fully under his own Hand, in the Shoka to you, and that sent to me by this dawk; He also entreats you to support Afrasiab Khan, as his faithful and chosen Servant.

The two great Points in your Instructions are "to ascertain the Shah's Wishes, and to secure Resources for paying the Expense of any Troops sent to his Aid." Both these Objects I have attained. The Persian Papers by this Dawk ascertain the first; and the Offer of Afrasiab Khan in my Letter of August the 24, as well as the Dustkhut of Mujid ul dowla referred to in my Letter of the 23d of the Same Month, do the second.

A Secondary Object of your Instructions was "to connect myself with the Successor of Nujif Khan, if agreeable to the Shah". This I did with Mirza Shuffy, 'till the late Declaration of his Majesty against him : To which I might and, his Conduct respecting the French; respecting the Lucnow Business;³ and respecting my going to Dehly, on which Head he has broken his Word repeatedly.

I beg Leave to observe that Nothing is now wanting on my Part; every thing is plain and ready to receive your Impression. By the Single Act of the Treaty with Afrasiab Khan, you fulfil your Offer of Service to the Shah, and secure a powerful Ally to the State: By sending the Troops at his Requisition, you free the Company from the Expense of them.

The State of Mirza Shuffy's Affairs which with common Management might have been flourishing, is so desperate, that I look upon them as almost irretrievable. He has contrived to disgust his Master, his Kindred, his Commanders, his Soldiers, and his Allies; and yet he Seems to think himself secure : he has however been alarmed within these four days by Muhomed Beg Humdany's encamping with 20,000 Men, five Coss from hence, and calling upon him for the complete Performance of all his Engagements, which he still endeavours to avoid; and how it will end I know not, but if it comes to Blows, in Mirza Shuffy's immediate Destruction in all Probability, since no One will Support him.

I will not mention any Thing so insignificant as my Anxiety for your decisive Answer on these Points, after saying that the whole Mogul Empire, with its unhappy Master, look to you for Redemption from the utmost Distress and Confusion. I am, with perfect Respect,

My dear Sir,

Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

Deig,
Sep. 16, 1783.

A true Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 51

42. Copy of a royal Shooka with the royal Signature on the Subject of the Nawab Ashraff ud Dowla Bahader to Major Browne.

Your Arzie in answer to the royal Shooka came under my exalted Sight. You represented on the Subject of Ashruff ud Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader that from the beginning you have friendship with the said Bahader, now that a royal Shooka on the Subject of making friendship with the said Bahader has been issued from the Presence You will from your Heart and Soul bring to effect the Articles of friendship with the said Bahader, because my fortunate Son Ameer ul momalik Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Governor Bahader is fixed in Obedience to the Commands of the Presence, and that now I should explicitly Order whatever may be the Desire of my Heart respecting the said Bahader. I therefore write¹ with the Pen of favor that Zoolficar ud Dowla Bahader deceased during his Life time fixed in his own place my faithful Servant Ashruff ud Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader and also procured for him benediction from the enlightened Presence. After the death of the deceased my said faithful Servant on account of many Concerns chose to act with management and Caution, and from the said Bahader's acting thus persons not well wishers got introduction into the affairs. Accordingly on this Subject a royal Shooka has been issued to my fortunate Son Ameer ul momalik Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Governor Bahader. The sum is this that the said Bahader is employed from his Heart and Soul in Service to the Presence. It is necessary that you should bring to effect the Articles of friendship and Union with the said Bahader, and lay such Foundation that with the junction and advice of the said Bahader the advancement of the Affairs of royalty may appear. For the rest knowing the royal Favors to be attached to you dispatch Arzies to the Presence.

43. Copy of a Shooka of the Royal Presence to Major Browne to this purport that he should come with the Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla to the Presence.

At this time it has been represented to the royal Information that you have a desire to come to the palace which protects the world. You are without doubt a sincere welwisher to the exalted Government but if your Coming could be effected in Company with Ashruff ud Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader who is from his Heart and Soul employed with zeal in bettering the Concerns of Royalty and refreshing the Business of the throne it is best, that the attachment of the welwishers of this royal House may produce effect to the thoughts of the Heart. It is therefore written with the Pen of Favor that you my two favorite Servants should in conjunction be honored by kissing the threshold, that the Effect of all Points may be produced. For the rest know me to be favorable to your Concerns.

44. Copy of a Letter from the Nawab Mujid ud Dowla Bahader to the Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla Major Browne Bahader on the Subject of Afrasiab Khan Bahader.

Your friendly Letter arrived thro' the beloved Nawab Afrasiab Khan and was cause of entire Satisfaction. It was written that now when the Orders of the Presence and my pleasure were known to you, you would bring to effect in a greater degree than formerly the Articles of Friendship with the said beloved Nawab. My Friend ! let it be certain to your mind that such is my desire that the Concerns of the glorious throne may be bettered and that the powerful Nawab may be the Master, and that becoming a Sirdar like the beloved Nawab I may be employed in the Orders of the powerful Nawab Governor Bahader and of you. As I esteem the beloved Nawab above my own Children this is my Wish that the affection of the powerful Nawab may encrease daily towards him.

It was written that conformably to the Orders of the presence and my Writing you have made a Foundation of writing to the powerful Nawab on the Subject of the said Nawab, and have sent enclosed in your friendly Letter a petition containing a request of a royal firmaun which should contain the royal Desires. My Friend a Royal Shooka¹ containing the Desire of the royal Mind on the Subject of the beloved Nawab with my own Dispatch shall soon arrive at your Presence addressed to the powerful Nawab.

It was written that whatever speed could be used in sending the royal Shooka it would be best. My friend ! you must ask this Business from my Heart, but you are not acquainted with the inconveniences of the presence and my Distress and the various Events of this place : the Delay happens from impossibility to remedy it ; in every Situation I will send it speedily. The Sum is this that the royal Desire and my pleasure is in this, that the powerful Nawab and you should bring to effect the articles of Friendship with the beloved Nawab, and whatever his Nawab Majesty has written in the royal Shooka addressed to the powerful let it be executed and let the foundation be laid in junction with the beloved Nawab, that the affairs of Royalty may be bettered and Mankind may remain in Ease and that Receipts also may come to the throne.

Written in his own Hand.

My Friend, your friendly Letter which had arrived thro' Sheik Chand in answer to my affectionate Letter does not require the writing again a Reply. I have sent Two royal Shookas with the royal Signature; I have forwarded a Copy of the Royal Shooka which is for the powerful Nawab to the beloved Nawab : you who are coming to the presence must bring the beloved Nawab also; that is to say that to come in conjunction with him is best. I have above written in this Letter that the desired Shookas shall speedily arrive, now by the Blessing of God having caused them to be written I have sent them. The truth is this that upon his Majesty

and me various inconveniences are come, and the Inconveniencés have proceeded beyond the limits of writing ; therefore from want of remedy delays happen in writing Dispatches. I have repeatedly written that on account of Griefs ability for no Business remains you must know me to be in all Conditions employed in Friendship.

No. 52

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

I wrote you Some days ago an Account of the State of Affairs between Mirza Shuffy and Mahomed Beg Khan and that the General Disaffection of the former's Army, portended his Destruction. After all the Demands of Mahomed Beg Khan had been adjusted, a Day was fixed for the Meeting of him and Mirza Shuffy. This being the day determined on, a Tent was pitched a Coss from hence, and a certain Force was to have been brought by each party, but this not having been adhered to many Messages passed, and the Meeting which was to have taken place in the Morning, was procrastinated till near Sunset, when Mirza Shuffy and Afrasiab Khan set out from hence with almost all their Forces.¹

Afrasiab Khan first met Mahomed Beg Khan ; Upon his coming back to Mirza Shuffy, (who remained upon his Elephant about a Hundred Yards off) He also advanced to meet Mahomed Beg Khan ; As soon as they embraced, Mahomed Beg Khan attempted to pul Mirza Shuffy off his Elephant ; at the same Instant Aga Ismael, (Mahomed Beg's Nephew) who was on an Elephant on the other side of Mirza Shuffy, gave him a mortal Wound with a *Paishcubz*. In an Instant all was Confusion ; the Mogul Sirdars who were with Mirza Shuffy all fled, but a heavy Cannonade was kept up for about an Hour, between the Battalions of Afrasiab Khan and Mahomed Beg Khan,² which is rather extraordinary considering the Friendship professed between those Chiefs. After it became dark Hamdany drew off to his own Camp, and Afrasiab Khan to his. Some say that Hamdany is dangerously wounded, but the Confusion is too great yet, to be certain of any Thing: Tomorrow I shall have the Honour to address you again. With perfect Respect,

Deig,
Sep. 23, 1783.

I am My dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

A true Copy
H. Abbott

No. 53

TO the Honble W. Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

My dear Sir,

I omitted writing to you Yesterday as I wished to have fuller Subject for a Letter than was then to be obtained.

To complete the Narrative of the 23d Instant, I now beg Leave to inform you, that Hamdany was not wounded as was reported, but his Nephew Aga Ismael,¹ received some slight Wound. On both sides about seven Hundred Men are said to have been killed and wounded.

During the Night of the 23d and Yesterday Morning, Afrasiab Khan was very busily employed in collecting together the Troops of Mirza Shuffy encamping them with his own; and encouraging them and putting them in Spirits; these Troops exclusive of Horse, consist of 7 Battalions of Sepoys with their Field Pieces, and are all encamped with Afrasiab Khan's former Army. These Avocations did not prevent his manifesting great Humanity and attention to all those affected by Mirza Shuffys Death. His Body, which was brought here the Night of the 23d was Yesterday deposited in a Garden in Deig, to be removed hereafter to Dehly.

About 9 o' Clock yesterday Morning, by Afrasiab Khan's Desire I attended him to the Shazada's, who gave him a *Khelat* to act in the Duties of Amir ul Amrah, 'till his Majesty shall appoint him from the Presence. The Begum (Nujif Khan's Sister) also gave him a *Khelat* to declare her considering him in the Place of Mirza Shuffy: It was determined in the Presence of the Shazada that his Tents and the Begum's should both be pitched near Afrasiab Khan's, which was accordingly done and the 28 fixed by the Astrologers for the Shazada's going to his Tents. Hamdany² is in his Camp 5 Coss from hence, and is greatly embarrassed by the Clamour of his Troops for pay.

From the Shokas I sent to Major Davy the 16 Instant, and from what I wrote you Dr. [Dear] Sir of the Oaths and Engagements among the Sirdars, there is no Doubt that the depriving Mirza Shuffy of his Office was the Will of the Shah³ and the General Wish of all the Sirdars: This could only be effected by his Confinement or Death, especially as he kept the Shazada with him as a Hostage. Whether the latter of these alternatives was originally determined on; whether it arose accidentally from their finding the former impracticable, or whether it was the mere Effect of Hamdany's Revenge for his own particular Wrongs, will not for some Time be clearly ascertained. Be this as it may, I assure you Things were come to such a State owing to Mirza Shuffy's Jealousy and Apprehension, at the Shahs having complained of his Grievances to us, and the Marhattas, that there was little doubt of his proceeding any Lengths to get Possession of his Majesty's Person; The Consequence of which must have been the total Ruin of his Majesty's Affairs, and neither the English nor the Vizier

could then have interfered for his Service with any Prospect of Success. For this Purpose Mirza Shuffy had lately sent repeated Orders to his Brother⁴ to persuade the Shah to quit the Kellah and march to Deig; But his Majesty was put on his Guard against this Device. The Character of Afrasiab Khan affords better Prospects; naturally timid and circumspect, He will never think himself Strong, and consequently will by every Means cultivate the Friendship of the English and the Vizier; this will give them Sufficient Weight to interfere effectually in the Shah's Favour, should Afrasiab Khan ever forget those Loyal Sentiments which I believe He now possesses; the late Action therefore, however bad in itself will be productive of Good Consequences, and preventive of great Evils.

By this Dawk I send to Major Davy a Letter to you from the Begum, and One from Afrasiab Khan.⁵ Let me entreat that you will direct their being immediately answered in the most favourable and friendly Terms. I am with perfect Respect,

Deig,
Sep. 25, 1783.

My dear Sir,
Your most faithful Servant,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 54

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr. &c.

My dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that this Day his Majestys Khelat sent to meet Afrasiab Khan¹ arrived at this place in Charge of Rajah Dearam². It invests him with the Post of Amir-ul Omrah, Meer Buckshey, Soubadar of the Province and Killadar of the Fort of Agra. It is now near two Months since Afrasiab Khan's First Letters were sent³ to you, but I have not yet been honored by receipt of any Answer to them. I beg leave to assure you that this has the most unfavorable appearance in the Eyes of his Majesty and of all the Sardars in this Quarter. With the greatest Respect,

Camp at Matra,
October 16, 1783.

I am &c.,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 55

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

By the two papers which I this Day have sent to Major Davy you will perceive the very formidable Aspect of the approaching Invasion of the Seeks.¹ Their Objects appear to be no less than the Conquest of all the Country possessed by the Mussulmen, and the friendly Style of their Letters to me as the English Minister in this part of the Country seems calculated to secure our neutrality. The Weakness and Divisions of the Dehly Sardars give them every Reason to expect an easy Conquest of the Dominions now in their possession, and any Obstacles they may meet with from the Nawaub Vizier must be by our means, indeed the Existence of the Mussulmen power in this part of Asia seems now to depend on our Assistance as during the Invasion of the Marattas in 1758 it did on the Support of Ahmed Shah Durranny.

I beg leave to observe that by crossing over into the Doab the Seiks have it in their power to proceed without Interruption to the very Walls of Ferozkabad which to Troops marching as they do from twenty to thirty Coss in twenty four hours, would only require about four Days from the Time of their Arrival opposite to Dehly. The most probable Means of preventing this, is by appearing perfectly prepared to receive them which I hope we shall do. To produce this End I have transmitted this Intelligence to the Resident at the Viziers Court,² under whose Orders or Instructions all the Troops in his Excellency's Dominions act, that he may take the necessary Steps in Consequence.

From the confused Authority of the many Sardars³ who are assembled at this great Camp of the Seiks there is Reason to hope that they may divide upon the Measures to be pursued but as their doing so is only probable not certain the preparations for the Security of whomsoever we may mean to Assist should be made without any reliance on such an Event.

I beg Leave to observe that this is the only general Assembly of the Seiks Forces on this Side of their Dominions which has taken place for 16 Years past,⁴ and seems to have been produced by three concurrent Causes. The Employment afforded to the Forces of Timur Shah on the Side of Herat by the Invasion of his Dominions by Mirza Nessur ulla Khan. The weakness, Division and Imprudent Conduct of the Dehly Sardars and the scarcity of Grain⁵ in the Penjab Districts which has distressed the Seiks to subsist their Forces at home. All the former Invasions of which we have heard every Year have been made by the petty Sardars on this Side of the Suttaleg and never amounted to 10,000 Horse altogether.

I have the Honor to be My dear Sir with the most perfect respect &c.,

Camp near Sheer Gurr,
Novemr. 17, 1783.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 56

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I arrived here the 11th¹ but a severe Fever which has persecuted me without Intermission from the 3d Instant has not hitherto allowed me the power to write you. In this Situation I have been indebted to Fortune for presenting me in the person of a French Surgeon² belonging to the Begum a Man of Skill sufficient to save me from the Ignorance of the Hindostan Hakeems and from the Consequences of my Application for a Surgeon not having been attended to but I presume Sir you will not think that the Necessity for such an Alternative was very proper and that Consequently you will now give the requisite Orders for the Surgeon's being sent, for whom Major Davy so long since applied. His Name is Dalzell.

It was with the utmost Reluctance that Afrasiab Khan and Muced ul dowla were induced to assent to my earnest request to enter the City without any person of Rank coming to meet me. M. ul Dowla being particularly desirous to do so. I at last satisfied them promising to advise you that it was at my particular Desire and not from want of Respect to our Nation.

As soon as my Health admits I shall wait on his Majesty who expresses great anxiety to see me after which I again shall have the Honor to address you. With perfect respect I am &c.,

Dehly,
December 15th, 1783.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 57

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings, Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honor to address you the 15th since which the most unwholesome damp rainy Weather has not only by confining me to my room deprived me of taking the exe[r]cise requisite to restore my Strength

but has given me several Attacks of the Fever and Ague which has impair'd the little I have in short I have never yet been in any thing like a Condition to undergo the Fatigue of the Introduction to the Shah, and now were I well I could not be introduced till the 14th Suffer or 9th January by the Etiquette of this Court¹ time immemorial. These forms are however of little Importance the business of assisting the Shah can and must now go on if we wish to be secure in India and regarded as a Nation of faith and Honor. We have offered and the Shah has accepted the Offer of Assistance.² We have annexed Conditions—the Shah has approved of them—He has done more on the first Offer we made of reuniting ourselves to him remembering our antient Services he without waiting for any proof of our present Sincerity in opposition to the Advice of every Minister he had but one³ in spite of the pressing poverty he felt almost affectg. the necessary Wants of Life inspite of the high reputation of the Strength and Success of the French and Tippoo Saheb which I assure you totally eclipsed those of the English in this Quarter he rejected the Offer of M. de Bussy to send a Body of Troops to the presence, and that of Tippoo Saheb⁴ to pay 12 Lacs of Rupees for the Shahs Sunnud for the Soubahdarry of Arcot. This Recapitulation of Circumstances long since and often detailed by me will prove us bound by every Tye of Wisdom and policy as well as Morality and honor to the Assistance of his Majesty.

By this Days Dawk I send to Major Davy his Majestys and M. ul Dowlahs answers to your Addresses,⁵ they are expressed in as complete a Manner as general Terms can admit of. The explanation of everything is by his Majestys express declaration referred to me. I wish my head were both stronger and clearer than it now is to do the requisite Offices of this critical part of my Mission. I must however hope for your Excuse where any Deficiency may appear. The Shah's Service by Troops can be effected completely by two arrangements which in my Opinion should immediately be ordered or all our Offers and promises will be considered as false and insidious.

Let his Excellency the Vizier again assign the Jaidad (formerly given to pay Letafut Aly Khan and his Corps and resumed on his Misbehavior⁶), for the payment of a Body [of] Troops for his Majestys Service. Let the Troops be raised and commanded as the Vizier and the English Govt. shall please but act immediately under the Shahs Orders thro the E. Residt. or the Vizier's Naib M. ul Dowlah⁷—if any European Officers be with this Corps, a very nice Judgement indeed must direct the Choice, for Scarce any are in the smallest Degree fit for such Employ but much more likely to do Evil than Good.⁸ The withdrawing the Viziers Troops from his Majestys Service, because Letafut ally Khan a Slave of the Viziers behaved ill to his Master, appears not easily to be accounted for on any Grounds that I know of.

Let the English Government furnish his Majesty with 6 Regiments of Sepoys⁹ with their usual Compliment of Artillery.¹⁰ Let a battering Train be also lodged at some proper place hereafter to be named for the

purpose of sieges. These troops to act as those in the Viziers Dominions do¹¹—that is the Service be ordered by the Shah thro the Resident who will be guided by the Instructions given him by the Board. The Mily. Line to be clearly and entirely left to the Commanding Officer of the Detachment who must be the properest Judge how to carry on the Service.

When I left Calcutta your Orders to me were to provide for the entire Expence of any Troops the Shah might require this is what I have consequently always proposed and what the Shah and M-ul-Dowlah say “take half the Country for, but send for the Troops first, for till they come we are alone and to whom shall we say ye are useless Banditti make way for Troops who will do his Majesty real Service”. This is too clear and Rational to be disputed when those Regiments shall arrive the Shah can give them what Jaidads he and his Ministers approve nor can the present Incumbents presume to dispute even by Words but without their arrival nothing can be done. But as our Nation is now freed from all its Enemies do you not think Sir that considering the Obligations which our Company owe to the house of Timur it wd. become the honorable Gratitude of a Great people like the English to render the Service it affords to a distressed Monarch as little burthensome as may be—and if so why require the Shah to provide for anything more than the Extra Charges of this Detachment exceeding what it would cost if canton’d at Dinapore¹² for there is no need of Encreasing our Army on Occasion of our Assisting the Shah on the contrary the Circumstance of our Security on this Side by this Connection might Authorize our reducing a part of it.

These my dear Sir are the outlines of the plan for serving the Shah for excluding the French, for raising your own Reputation and that of the Nation. Let me but know that they are to be filled up and if I live I will engage to do it almost as fast as I describe it—but the following Steps must be immediately taken. Let the Vizier send his people to Dehly, or order them to be raised here. Let the English Detachment form at Anufshere and remain there till everything Shall be adjusted and then March on the Shahs requisition to the place assigned for it. At the same Time send me your Instructions what Sum is to be provided for, and I will see it done before the Troops march from Anufshere.¹³ I will also get a fortified place as a Place of Arms and Magazine. This is all I need say on the great political Scale on which the Board will consider it—the Detail must be adjusted after these points are fixed on.

M-ul-Dowlah in his Letter to you hints at sending his Family to Benares, this he has explained to me particularly—in the Vicissitudes he has undergone¹⁴ at different Times not only his person has been imprisoned and his Wealth plundered but the defenceless part of his Family has been ill treated and insulted especially last Year. He wishes therefore for a Retreat to secure them in. The great attachment this old Statesman has always shewn to our Nation and the obvious policy of encouraging that uncommon Disposition by the only means perceptible to the Hindostan

Chiefs, I mean self Interest, induce me to recommend his being complimented by our Government with a Jaghire in that District. These are Acts that would do Honor to our Government and make the English Nation appear like a great solid political State as they are, not a petty Economical self-Interested trading Factory as they were.

Let me beg my Dear Sir the speediest reply the Case admits of to this and believe me &ca.,

Dehly,
Decemr. 30th, 1783.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 58

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I have now the Honor to advise you of my having this Day been presented to his Majesty Shah Alum.

The extreme state of Weakness to which my Sickness has reduced me made it impossible for me to undergo the fatigue of this Ceremony at the Time of Afrasiab Cawns Introduction as Amere-ul omrah which took place the 27 of last Month¹; which he was very desirous of with a View of shewing his regard for, and connection with the English Nation: nor should I have got thro it easily even Yesterday, had not his Majesty with the greatest humanity and condescention exempted me from near one half of the *Tuslimates* or ceremonial Obeissances² established by the Etiquette of this Court.

The Khelaut given me was of the most honorable Degree Vizt., *Huft Paicha*,³ *Sierpaish*, *Khulghy*, *String of Pearls*, *Sword*, *Elephant* and *horse*. The Gentlemen who accompanied me received suitable Distinctions, and that you may form an adequate Idea of the Consideration shewn to your agent at this Court, which is the only Design of this Detail. I beg leave to inform you, that the Sub[ordinate] Officers of my Escorte, received Khelauts four Times more honorary⁴ than those which his Majesty, when at Allahabad,⁵ conferred on Officers Commanding Batns. of Sepoys.

His Majestys pirsonal [*sic*] Behaviour was to the greatest Degree Cheerful and condescending, and contrary to his usual Silence and Reserve, he asked me a number of Questions respecting the English Gentlemen whom he remembered at Allahabad. On presenting your Nuzzer⁶ he enquired after the State of your Health and about Mrs. Hastings's departure⁷. After this he retired from the *Diwan Kass* to the *Tusbeh Khanna*,⁸ whither Afrasiab Khan and Mujid ul Dowlah desired I would accompany them in attending him; here his Majesty seated himself on a low Throne in a more familiar

manner, and became more particular in his Enquiries respecting you and the State of the Viziers Country. I replied, and took that opportunity to declare the Loyalty and Affection of the English and the Vizier in which I was seconded by Afrasiab Khan and Mujid-ul-Dowlah. His Majesty said he had received the greatest services from the Engh. Nation, that their ceasing to perform them he attributed to the self interested Advice and Management of Shurja ul Dowlah, who did not wish for a Continuance of the Connection between his Majesty and the English, and was at the same Time very desirous to get possession of the Provinces of Allahabad and Kerah, which he effected by our Means. Upon this the eldest Shah Zada, Mirza Jewan Buckt,⁹ remarked that he not having been with the Shah at Allahabad had only heard of the Loyalty of the English, but that in future he doubted not that he should see the Effects of it, since they had made Professions to that purport, and were a Nation famous for Veracity. To this I replied by professions in general Terms—and we then received our Dismission; His Majesty having first enjoined me to write you that “he prays for you” which I need not tell you my dear Sir, is the form of salutation his Majesty uses to all his Subjects. Upon the whole, this Audience was in every respect favorable and honorable, and indicated a very friendly disposition to our Nation, not only in the Shah—but in all his present Ministry, but at the same Time, an Expectation that our professions are not merely Words.

His Majesty's Paishktema¹⁰ is pitched West of the City, and the Amir ul Omrah is desirous of carrying his Majesty into the Field with him. The Shah says he is ready to go if money is provided for his Expences, and that of his Zenana and Family to be left here, but the providing this is not so easy a Matter in the present Times, and it is probable the Want of it will prevent his Majesty's Marching.

The Object of their Campaign¹¹ is not fixed, sometimes they Talk of going towards Lahore which I am sure they dare not without foreign Assistance—at other Times they talk of going to Joynaghur, which I think they cannot rationally attempt in the present situation of this Neighbourhood. The great army of the Sieks having entered Zabetakhans Country¹² which is just by from whence they may seize on the Capital and plunder all the Royal Land in the space of a few Days. When any Resolution is fixed I shall not fail to let you know.

Dehly,
5th February, 1784.

I am &ca.,
Signed, James Browne

A True Copy
H, Abbott

No. 59

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I now beg leave to advise you of my having yesterday presented to his Majesty the Things with which you entrusted me on my Departure from Calcutta together with the Sabre and Kuttar purchased from Captain Farmer of which I advised you in my Letter of the 1st Decemr. last¹—on presenting them I told his Majesty that you had sent these things more from Compliance to the forms of Duty and Respect than from any Idea of their being deserving of his Acceptance, that on the Subject of presents it was your Wish always to receive his Majesty's previous Commands that such Articles may be prepared as shall be conformable to his Majesty's Inclination. He expressed his Approbation both of the Things and this Declaration and directed a Kubba (The Moghul Coat) and a Gashbund to be given me expressing at the same Time his Will that I should appear at Court in that Dress.

After this (being in the Tusbet Khanna) he directed Afrasiab Khan, Mujid ul Dowlah and me to approach close to him, when he told me that he had no doubt that your Intentions are sincere to fulfil the professions of Loyalty which you have made him both by Letter and thro me—that you were no stranger to the Distresses under which he labours and no doubt had given me Instructions to speak on that Subject. I informed his Majesty in Reply that as far as I am commissioned to talk on that Subject I am ready to communicate to the Amir-ul Omrah and Mujid ul Dowlah as his Majestys Ministers, and for the rest that you will be at Lucnow² yourself in a Short Time when every thing can be negotiated with the utmost Expedition and I hoped to his Majesty's Satisfaction. His Majesty then ordered me to write you that he not only calls but considers you as his Son, that he considers Afrasiab Khan in the same light and that it is his particular Injunction to you that you will in every Respect manifest your Friendship to Afrasiab and support his Interests and Exertions for his Majesty's Service which will be one of the most acceptable Actions you can perform in his Majesty's Opinion—this I assured him I would do and took my Leave. From there we proceeded to the Apartments in the Palace allotted to Mujid ul Dowlah where all Attendants being dismissed the Conference opened by a covered Allusion to the Bengal Tribute and the Claims of Korah etc. agreeable to your Instructions I rather endeavour to avoid the Discussion than support our Measures by Argument, but in the Course of this Conference the other party furnished me with a Circumstance in support of your Measures dear Sir wch. appears to me Stronger and more conclusive than those even with which you directed my Combating their Attacks. Mujid ul Dowlah³ said that on advice of your coming up to Benares⁴ in 1773 His Majesty had determined to send him to negotiate with you on the Subject of the Tribute of Bengal of Korah &c.,—and th[at] his Pishkbema

actually was for a considerable Time five Coss from hence on the Bengal Road but that at that Time Nudjif Khan setting out to attack the Jates⁵ at Agrah it was thought improper to leave his Majesty without some Minister of credit and Rank and therefore his going was set aside and a full and unlimited power sent by his Majesty to the Vizier Shujer-ul Dowlah to conclude with you the affair of Bengal Khorah &c.⁶ which he did and that when advice arrived of the manner in which it was settled it was observed to the Shah that his Shoka to Shujer ul Dowlah had cost him 50 Lacs of Rupees per annum. From this it is evident that whatever may at various Times have been urged on this head this Act of Shujer ul Dowlah's is looked upon as having done away the Shahs Rights and their hopes of Relaxation on these points are founded on their Opinion of our Generosity rather than of their own Claims. This I mention for your Information in case you should have anything urged by Letters or otherwise immediately to yourself—soon after this the Conference ended.

Acbal Aly Khan⁷ the Son of Camgar Khan⁸ who revolted in Bahar in 1781 and relative to whom his Majesty has written you twice within the last year, in Reply to which Major Davy told me that you had ordered enquiry to be made respecting his rebellion from Mr. Charters⁹ was this Day presented to me by Afrasiab Khan by the Shah's Order and I was particularly enjoined to repeat my Solicitation to you for his Pardon as a thing which will be particularly satisfactory to the Shah—allow me to do so, and at the same Time to refer you to my former Letters for Reasons why this may be done without any great breach of Political propriety and with Respect to our internal Government at the same Time that it will be one of the most acceptable things that can be done with Respect to his Majesty. I am with perfect Respect,

Dehly,

February 11th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 60

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

The papers of News which I have constantly transmitted thro your Persian Interpreter for several Months past will have advised you of the progress of the great Army of Seiks which to complete the Calamity of this wretched Country has crossed into the Doab,¹ it is not a flying Party of 3 or 4,000 Horse solely intended for Invasion, but an Army said to be Sixty and I believe really is 30,000 Strong. Their Design to give the Mogul Sirdars a Blow which may incapacitate them from making attempts to

recover their possessions on this Side of Lahore ; upon their crossing over to the Doab they with general consent chose Kurrum Sing² (one of their Chiefs) to be the Commander on this Expedition³ by giving him in Charge the standard of the Gourou or Prophet of the Tribe ; with this Chief I have long had a Correspondence and upon his Election to the Office of Commander in Chief of the grand Army, he sent a Chaila of his to me to inform me of it, with many professions of Friendship to the English Nation and a desire that I should give a favorable and attentive Audience to the said Chaila whose name is Kallian Sing⁴ by whom he sent me the usual Seik present of two Punjab Bows. After a few general Questions and the perusal of Kurrum Sing's Letter which he brought for me, and which declared him to be fully Authorized to talk to me, I asked him what were the Wishes and expectations of the Seik Sardars that they had already in the Course of a few Years made themselves Masters of a Large and valuable Country in the possession of which no one annoys them but that their present Expedition seemed to indicate that they are yet unsatisfied and mean to render themselves a Terror and a Nuisance to their Neighbours without any provocation on their part, that such a Conduct is impolitic and only leads to provoke a general Union of such powers as are fully adequate to chastize unbridled Insolence and unprovoked Invasion, that by the News Papers I perceived the Seik Sardars talked of laying waste the Country of the Vizier as if their doing so were an Act entirely at their own Command and in which no one would molest them, but that I could assure them that the English Government would resent an Attack on Rohillcuns in the same degree as an attack on Bengal—that I told him this because I am a Friend to his Master and wish that Friendship may subsist between the English and the Seik Sardars in General. He told me that the Sirdars would not cross the Ganges, though some of them wished to do it but that Kurrum Sing has a Majority in the *Gormutta*⁵ (or Diet if I may so translate it) of a different Opinion, that the Seiks wished for the Friendship of all men of Courage and Integrity of which species they consider the English as the only Power in Hindostan, and that therefore they are ready to act as I shall advise. I told him that as I am ignorant of their Views and Expectations it is impossible that I can give any Opinion, but that if his Master will communicate his wishes to me in the Way of Confidence and Friendship I shall very readily offer my Opinion of their Expediency as the reverse. Kallian Sing after this endeavoured to find out my sentiments respecting the Shah which I avoided declaring explicitly, at the same Time I intimated that it would be to the true Interest of the Seiks rather to avoid than seek the means of creating more Enemies than they have by wanton Injury offered to any Power ; after this I presented him with a pair of Shawls and desired he would write to his Master and point out anything in which my advice can be acceptable to him and I will give it with pleasure or act as a Mediator between the Seik Sirdars and the Shah's servants ; he told me he had Letters for Afrasiab Khan and Mujid ul Dowlah which we had orders to deliver or keep as I should advise, I told him to deliver them by all

Means and sent a person to introduce him ; in the mean Time Kurrum Sing without waiting to hear from his Envoy, wrote me a Letter of which I have this Day sent Captain Scott a Copy, informing me App. No. 45. that he has set aside the Design formed by the Sardars to Cross the Ganges, and that this has been done on account of his regard and Friendship for the English and that the Seik Sirdars are ready in every Respect to act as the English shall wish and advise.

As during above twelve Months I have not been made happy by the smallest intimation of your pleasure on any Subject whatever, I am ignorant of the part you mean to take in Matters respecting the Seiks and his Majesty's Sardars. I do not even know, whether in case of their avowing a Determination to extirpate the Moghul Name if would be warrantable for me to say the English will join his Majesty to prevent this. Thus situated should I become suspected by all parties in the same Degree as I now am respected and confided in, I hope no blame will be attributed to me on your part dear Sir, since you must be convinced that mere general professions can only temporarily answer the purpose of any Negociator, they are naturally and necessarily pushed on to specific ones and when it is found he has not authority to make such, he becomes an Object of Aversion and Contempt and is considered as no better than a Spy. With great Respect I am etc.,

Dehly,
13th Febry, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 60

45. Copy of a Letter from Kurrum Sing to Major Browne about the Desire towards Delhi and the Dooab and the Postponing the Intention of crossing the Ganges.

At this time I had sent from hence my Son Cullean Sing ; it is certain that being arrived at your Presence he has been honored by an Interview ; and news of Cullean Sings arrival have not reached me ; therefore my Heart is bent towards that Quarter. The Intention of the Army of the Sereet Khalsajee is fixed towards crossing the Ganges. I keep my sight upon your Friendship and Alliance, therefore keeping them back from Delhi and the Dooab and making the Disposition of all the Chiefs friendly to that Quarter, I of myself marched toward the Marattas : now the Intentions of the Army of the Sereet Khalsajee are towards Delhi and the Country between the two Rivers, and I am at all times Looking upon the truth and validity of your Word. I am obedient to your Will and advice with the Army of the Sereet Khalsajee. I have written for your Information

and hope that you will make me happy constantly by answers of your Health.

No. 61

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

In my Address of the 11th Instant I had the pleasure to convey to you, his Majesty's Injunction that you should In every Respect consider Afrasiab Khan as his faithful and approved Servant and accordingly unite yourself to him in strict Friendship for his Majesty's Service. The shoka No. 1 of the Persian Paper¹ which I this Day enclose to Captain Scott contains a specific requisition from his Majesty on this Subject which was before expressed in general Terms only—it is that you will enter into such a treaty of Friendship and Alliance with Afrasiab Khan as was before projected for Mirza Shuffy to which his Majesty says he will add his Signature in Confirmation of its Validity. No. 2 is a letter² from the Amir ul Omrah soliciting the same thing and desiring you will alter any thing in the Draught sent by Mirza Shuffy thro me which you may disapprove in which he is ready to acquiesce.

This proposition has always been intended but it is now hastened by a Circumstance to which I beg Leave to call your Serious and Timely Attention. Spite of Afrasiab Khan's Confidence in the professions of Friendship made him in all your Letters, and by me on your part, as well as his high Opinion of the National Character in General he cannot avoid receiving some Impressions of Uneasiness from the constant Insinuation thrown out by most of his People "that the English are preparing to Seize on the Government here and reduce all the Sirdars to pensioners that it is for this Mr. Hastings is coming³ up for this that Col. Morgan's Detachment is ordered to halt at Etawa⁴ and nothing, but the most speedy measure on his part can prevent the Execution of this Plan". For this purpose every one advises him as his own Interest dictates, some recommend his carrying away the Shah and Mujid ul Dowlah and marching to Joinaghere. Others that he should make a Treaty with the Seiks—others (and at the head of that List, Rajah Himut Behadre) that he should enter into Alliance with the Marattas—I will not positively assert that Scindia has wrote to this Effect as I have not seen his Letters; but it is generally asserted. As I was informed of all these Circumstances I went out to the Ameer ul Omrah's Camp which is across the Jumna Yesterday forenoon. I found Nudjif Kooli Khan with him who also joined in the Conference. I told him all the Circumstances which had come to my Knowledge and exhorted him in the strongest Terms to avoid every Action and Word that might tend to give an Impression of his want of Confidence in your Sincerity—that both in your Letters to him and your Arzees to the Shah you had professed your Friendship for him in the clearest Terms imaginable, and that I would

be answerable by any pledge that he would demand and I could give that you will never act in the smallest Instance differently from those professions so long as he shall stand in the relations he now does to the Shah and to the English, that is a faithful Servant to the former and a Sincere Friend to the Latter. I then observed to him that his Marching away from this Side of the Country upon your approach would have the worst appearance and could not fail to hurt you very much as implying a want of Confidence in your Word. That on the Contrary, I would advise him either to remain here during your Residence at Lucnow, or even to advance nearer to the Frontier and to propose, an Interview with you at some place convenient to both for the purpose of conferring on his Majestys Affairs, that I did not doubt of your concurrence in the proposal and thought it very probable that you might even be Ending from thence to come to the presence. I concluded with pointing out that the Alliance of our Nation and the Vizier with him is natural and will for ever remain firm and undiminished, whereas any other which might be formed with him for a temporary purpose must be with people whose Interests are naturally opposite to his and must ultimately produce effects in the highest Degree detrimental to him. In reply the Nawaub Acknowledged that the suggestion and advice had been offered to him, that I had heard, and that tho he had the greatest Confidence in the English Faith they gave him some uneasiness, because they are used as the Means of raising Dissatisfactions against him among his own people by representing him as equally careless of their Welfare as of his own by remaining inactive till the English seize on every thing. That all grounds for such Clamours will be removed by your Compliance with his Majestys proposal of the Treaty which he therefore trusts in your Friendship and sincerity will be immediately sent to me for conclusion or at least the Draught of it with such Assurances on the Subject as shall take away all plan for Doab and that relying on this he will not remove from hence towards Joinaghare as was designed but remain in this Neighbourhood; at the same Time he desired I would propose to you a Meeting with him and inform you that he has solicited his Majesty for a Khelat to be sent you on your arrival in the upper provinces which I will take care dear Sir shall be expedited as much as possible. At the Conclusion of the Conference both the Nawaub and Nudjif Kooly Khan told me that they were perfectly sensible of the Justness of my Remarks to them on the expediency of their Connection with the English, that they wish for no other, and that nothing could lead them to accept of the Offers of any Power in Hindostan but the English refusing or *too long delaying* to accept of them.

The Nawaub then shewed me the Koran with his Majesty's and his son Mirza Akbar Shah's^s Seals to it, as also his own Vajibul Mirza with the several Dustucks in the Shah's own Hand by which he has given him all and every power possessed by Nudjif Khan when alive. I send a Copy of this also No. 3, this joined to Nos. 1 and 2 and the reasonings have made upon them you will I presume draw the

following Conclusions.

That his Majesty has by his own Air and Oath vested all the political and Military power of his Government in Afrasiab Khan only reserving to himself the Confirmation of the Acts which he shall perform.

That it is in that Capacity that his Majesty both in his Shoka to you and personally to me enjoins your Union with Afrasiab Khan for his Service. That Afrasiab Khan is anxiously desirous of uniting himself with the English and the Vizier and that till this Union is completed by Treaty he is in the most painful suspense which is encreased by the suggestions of those about him and the Intimations of the powers who wish to prevent this Union "that if he does not now conclude with them he will find them Deaf to his Entreaties when the English come upon him". Lastly that if you reject his offer or too long delay to satisfy him that it shall be accepted you drive him into the Hands of our National Enemies⁶ and add him to the Number. I beg leave to add that all this is perfectly compatible with my proposal of the 30th December last since Afrasiab Khan would be very glad of the Aid of the English and the Vizier, and you may if you please make it a new Article in the Treaty that he shall provide for the payment of the Body of our Troops to be with him for the Shah's Service The Shah's Orders going thro him.

Since writing so far in this Letter I have had a proof of what I only suspected before I mean of Scindia's ill Disposition to us and Offers of uniting himself with Afrasiab Khan if he will keep us away from the Shah. I have read Scindias own Letters,⁷ the Letter of Himut Behadre and of his Agent⁸ all originals the seal being perfectly well known to me, under the strictest promises of Secrecy. I hope in a Day or two to send you Copies with some other papers no less interesting. In the meantime I earnestly advise that no unnecessary delay be allowed to take place in your reply to the Letters of this Despatch, the Business is exceedingly nice and Delicate, everything is now most fair and promising but a Moment may overturn the whole Fabrick.

The Shah has granted a Firman for your Title of "Furzund Sadutmund" as well as Mrs. Hasting's Title and I have dispatched both to Major Palmer⁹ to keep till your arrival, this has been effected without any new fees of Office. I am with the greatest Respect,

Dehly,
Feb'y 19, 1784.

My Dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 61

46. Demands of Ashruf ul Omra Bahader from Ameer ul Omra Ashruf ud Dowla Bahader.

Having procured give me possession of the Pergunnas and Villages of my Jagheer, and in the House belonging to Raja Cooshalchund Roy,¹ and the Garden of Peeramund.²

When you have experienced my Sincerity and by the blessing of God kept me in your own Satisfaction and I performed the Duties of friendship, after that for the future you must not assent to the Representations of any Person about me.

If God forbid in the smallest Degree Suspicion remain take from me any Oath which may be pacifying, otherwise take me to one Side from the Occupation of the World.

The Answer on the Part of Ameer ul Omra Bahader to the Nawab Ashruf ul Omra Mujid ud Dowla Bahader.

On the Subject of possession of the Pergunnas and Villages of the Jagheer, and the House of Raja Cooshalchund Roy, and the Garden of Peeramund, which you Order, I will procure and give possession of the Pergunna Shekurpore which is your Jagheer and I will cause to be emptied and given the House of Raja Cooshalchund and the Garden of Peeramund and the Pergunna of Beerdhur and Bustie and Balwar,³ which are in the possession of Row Raja, when his Majesty shall go to that Quarter I will cause to be evacuated and given, and I who know you to be my Superior am not estranged from your Orders and without you I will not question or answer at the Presence.

On the Subject of your Sincerity and friendship which you say has been experienced by me and you have performed the Duties of Friendship and after that I must not assent to the representations of any person about you I have called you my Superior, what possibility that I should assent to the Words of any Intrigue about you. I know you in the room of the deceased Nawab.⁴—My attachment will be visible to your Mind.

If God forbid in the smallest Degree suspicion remain I must take from you any Oath which may be pacifying otherwise take you to one side from the Occupation of the World. You will know that I have consented to take this heavy Weight upon me from reliance upon your strength, and that till now whatever I have done I have brought to effect with your advice ; in future also I am not estranged from your Advice. What Business is this which is again and again ordered about ? If suspicion should exist in your exalted Mind on the Subject of me take from me the removal of the Suspicion and ease of Mind whatever Way the removal of Suspicion can take place.

“The Signature of Ameer ul Omra Bahader.” It is approved by me.

Copy of the Orders of his Majesty to Ameer ul Omra Ashruf ul Dowla Bahader.

Let my son Ameer ul Omra bring in attendance the Vakeels of the Maha Raja &ca., and let the Affairs of Jeynageer⁵ &ca., be settled in the Cutchery of the Khalsa⁶ ; Whatever may have been fixed for the Expences of the Sepoys of my son Ameer ul Omra let him take it from the Officers of the Presence.

When all the Articles of Favor are entertained towards you my son and the requests of my son are assented to, after that if you shall give entrance into your Heart to my suspicion of the royal Presence or of my son Ashruff ul Omra it will be Cause of Accusation from the Presence, and know that representations except thro' Mujid ud Dowla Bahader are far removed from attachment.

Prepare the Carriages of Burthens, and prepare for the necessaries of marching whatever may not be cause of Distress to you my Son, and the supply of the Expences of every Day and the arrival of the Peshcush.⁷

Release Rewaree and Dawurry.⁸

The choice of Men for the Stations⁹ of the Town that the protection of the Town may take place.

In the Concerns of the Keroory¹⁰ and Duties and Pergunnas of the Khalsa whoever may be author of Injury¹¹ bring him to punishment and make recommendations of no Person.

The Money belonging to Koorja &ca.

Know your own Honor to be in the Encrease of the Honor of the Throne and the superiority of the Throne.

Of the Servants and Dependants of Royalty if any person should join himself with you give him not entrance.

Representations in Answer to the Orders of the Enlightened Presence on the Part of Ameer ul Omra Bahader.

On the Subject of the Vakceels of the Rajas &ca., and the Concerns of Jaynageer &ca., it has been ordered that your Household Slave should bring in attendance at the Cutchery of the Khalsa Shereefa the Vakeels of the Rajas &ca., and that the Officers of the Khalsa having settled the Concerns, one half shall be taken into the royal Sircar and one half will be granted for the Expences of your Household Slave's Sepoys. It is agreed to by your Household Slave.

It has been ordered that favors are entertained towards your Household Slave, and that your Slave's requests are assented to ; after that if your Slave should give entrance into his Heart to Suspicions on the part of the royal Presence, and Ashruff ul Omra Bahader it will be accusation from the presence. May God preserve your Majesty ! What possibility is there that Suspicions on the part of the royal Presence and Ashruff ul Omra should fall into your Household Slave's Mind. I am from my Heart

and Soul as long as I live ready in Allegiance and Obedience to Commander and except Ashruff ul Omra Mujid ud Dowla Bahader I will not make representations thro' the Channel of any other.

For the Carriages of Burthens and the necessities of marching and the supply of the Expences of every day it has been ordered. The Situation of your Household Slave is not concealed from the presence. I will make no neglect in preparing the necessities for the Carriage of Burthens.

On the Subject of the Release of Rewarry and Dawurri which has been ordered I am hopeful that the Pergunna of Dawurri may be fixed in my Jagheer. After the Rabbee of the year 1191 I will present Rewarry.

On the Subject of the Choice of Men for the Stations of the Town which has been ordered your Slave conformably to your Orders will certainly Station men for the protection of the Town.

On the Subject of the money belonging to the Rent of Koorja &ca. which has been ordered, your Slave is ready agreeably to the Accounts.

In the Concerns of the Keroory and Duties and Pergunnas of the Khalsa which has been ordered whoever may be author of Injury your Slave will punish him. I will make recommendations of no person in the Concerns belonging to the Presence.

On the Subject of the Servants and Dependants of the presence if any person should join himself with your Household Slave I shall give him no Entrance. Your Slave has no Concern with the Servants and Dependants of the enlightened Presence.

On the Subject of the Encrease of the Honor and Superiority of the Throne which it has been ordered that your Household Slave should know to be his own Honor, your Slave from his Heart and Soul as long as he live is ready in the Encrease of the Honor and Fear of the Throne.

"The Signature of Ameer ul Omra Bahader". It is agreed to by the Household Slave.

No 62

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

By this Day's Dawk I send to Captain Scott¹ the Copy of a Letter
 App. No. 47. recd. yesterday by Mujid ul Dowlah from our fd. Sindia to
 the same effect as the one to Afrasiab Khan which I
 mentioned in my last, and which I hope to send you in a very short
 Time. It would have been sent before but for the Sieks whose whole
 Army having come within a few Coss of the City have obliged the
 Amir-ul-Omrah to cross his Army over the River—he Marched
 without [.....] and with two Days provision [.....] this Morning to
 attack them and they have advanced to meet him to within 6 Coss

it amounts to almost a Certainty that nothing decisive will happen as they will not approach his Battalions and Guns and he is too weak in Cavalry to attack them with that alone.

This Letter of Sindia is a Strong argument in Support of immly satisfy [...] Afrasiab Khan on the Subject of the Treaty as mentioned in my Letter of the 19th.

Since writing thus far I find that the Sieks instead of meeting Afrasiab Khan have marched 10 Coss in another Direction—he is encamped within about 6 Coss of them and says he will pursue them.

Dehly,
Febry 23d, 1784.

I am &ca.
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 62

47. Copy of a Letter of Madho Row Sindia Bahader to the Nawab Mujed ud Dowla Bahader recd. the 1st Rubbee assanie.¹

At this time repeatedly from the Newspapers of Lucnow and Delhi I have learnt that the Mind of his enlightened Majesty has been turned towards Plans² altho the rights of one Side are near,³ and immature Counsels have been offered to his Majesty, and the Management of the throne has been investigated;⁴ as yet also if with Sincerity and truth removing his Hand from these Plans and acting conformably to the Requests of Anund Row Nursee⁵ he will erase from his pure Mind the immature Counsels he may know me to be with my Foot in the Stirrup, and let him with the greatest Ease of mind Summon me to the Presence on Condition of Sincerity. By the Blessing of God I will soon in the next Month Depart towards the presence with a Strong Army for the purpose of verifying my Words. The word of Friends is trusty. Row Anund Row represents to you fully.

No. 63

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

By this Day's Dawk the following papers are conveyed to Captn. Scott for your perusal. No. 1 Copy of a Letter from Sindia App. No. 48. to the Ameer ul Omrah promised in my former Letter.
No. 2. a Letter from Mujid ul Dowlah to your address.
3. a Ditto from the Amir ul Omrah to your address in answer to your Last,

4. Copy of a Letter from the same to me received yesterday.

App. No. 49.

The first of these is a Letter which I mentioned in mine of the 19th Instant and which was written by Scindia on his hearing that Afrasiab Khan had introduced me to the Shah with so much Distinction and that he was desirous of connecting himself with the English. It is written in a Dark and ambiguous Style from an apprehension of its falling into Bad hands as it has done, but added to the one to Mujid ul Dowlah which I sent the 23d Instant the advice is very clear—in this he tells Afrasiab Khan “to reverse his present Conduct and he will support him, that by his advice last year the Enemy was kept away (adverting to the Conduct of M. Shaffy Khan in evading to carry me to the Presence) and says if Afrasiab Khan does not act as Himut Behadre and Kotul Khan advise he will repent it.” Their Letters (at least the Rajah’s) reprobate all Idea of Connection with the English who will win him and point out the Marattas and their Friends, (.....and the French) as the people to be connected with and relied on.

In his Letter to Mujid ul Dowlah you will perceive Scindia Says “If his advice is attended to (in rejecting the English) he is ready to support him with an Army.” The policy of Scindia in wishing to anticipate us in securing the Alliance of the Moghul Sardars is Obvious and Rational. It is to strengthen himself and weaken us and accordingly he is pursuing it. The Line of policy by which we may preclude him from these advantages and secure them to ourselves is no less obvious and Rational and I hope we shall pursue it especially as opportunity even presses us to do ourselves this great solid and national Service and thereby be secure from the Suttalujh to the Bay of Bengal.

Mujid ul Dowlah’s Letters only in confirmation of the Shahs requisition of a Treaty with Afrasiab Khan and Afrasiab Khan’s to you is in Answer to the last which you wrote him.

The Copy of his Letter Written to me [since ?] he marched after the Sieks I send you because it is peculiarly expressive of his regard for the English and wish to be connected with them in both which I firmly believe him to be Sincere.

From an apprehension that in the hurry of departing from Calcutta some of your papers may be left behind, and as the Treaty proposed with Mirza Shuffy Khan is intended as the general Basis for the present one I do myself the honor to send you a Copy of it herewith. With perfect Respect and Gratitude I am &c.,

Dehly,
Feby 27, 1784.

Signed. James Browne.

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 63

48. Copy of a Letter from Madho Row Sindia to the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Afrasiab Khan Bahader.

When the news of the plans of the enlightened presence came as far as me, they must already have been well known to you. Last year conformably to the representation of Maha Raja Anooobgeer Himmud Bahader¹ I restrained and turned back the Invaders². At this time neither have you informed me nor has the said Maha Raja written to me. It is come into my Mind that perhaps Advice is on foot in conjunction with your Friends, otherwise want of Information to me from you and the said Maha Raja and of representations from Mahomed Kotal Khan and Mahomed Wojee uddeen Khan was not possible. If it be such every person thinks his own advice best. When you frequently write and talk about the Friendship of the Deceased Nawab³, in me also is fixed the same preservation of Friendship. If it be without doubt, it is the real Advice to bring into your House the man who has lost his Way and to be employed in foresight, otherwise Disgrace is behind. It is not well for the presence and you. It will be fully learnt from the Letters of Wojee ud deen Khan.

49. Copy of a Letter from the Nawab Amer ul Omra Ashruff ud Dowla Afrasaib Khan Bahader to Major Browne.

Your friendly Letter to this purport that Meherban Khan being arrived at your presence with my Letters had made known whatever was verbally committed to him and that you had verbally entrusted all Matters fully to Meherban Khan and Mahomed Sullah ud Deen Khan which they will make known to me, found a glorious arrival, and becoming acquainted with the particulars of true Friendship and unanimity and the System of Affection and union I was grateful for your friendly Sincerity. By the Blessing of God the Friendship and Affection which is firm between us will, God be praised, encrease day by day and never will any Difference and Distinction find entrance. I, who with Sincerity of Heart have conformed the System and Line of Friendship with you, will with the Assistance of the Almighty remain fixed and firm until the Day of Judgment, and where there is the Agreement of Sincerity of union and unanimity what power have the Self interested Vilains that they should be able to be cause of a Change in mutual Friendship. I do not admit into my friendly Ear the smallest Word of a self interested man, and I do not listen to one word from a self interested man except Truth and Friendship. My Friendship is like pure Gold which when the Assayer shall try on the Touchstone not a Speck or fault will appear. Let your mind be in every respect at Ease on this Point. My Sincerity and attachment to the Nawab Ameer ul Momalik Amaud ud Dowla Governor General Hastings Bahader Jelladut Jung is made steadfast, and you are the Builder of this Edifice. By the

assistance of God I hope that day by day in a proper manner and pleasing Style it will become bright before the high and low and the whole of Mankind. In many Particulars which were written with the Pen of affection I who am coming there will execute the manner that may be your advice. Let your Heart be at Ease.

The Body of Rebels¹ who yesterday were perishing [pressing] towards Bowly Gola, I mounted with an Intention to fall upon and destroy. When I arrived near to Bahadurgurra the Hircarras brought news that they had fled to a great Distance from that place also.² This Day I have kept my station here. After learning the news of their flight I will execute what I shall think adviseable, and I will give you also Information.

No. 64

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I this Day transmit to Captn. Scott another Letter from Scindia to Mujid ul Dowla together with his Arzee for the Shah both
 App. No 50. recd. here the Day before yesterday and Copied by me
 No. 51. this Day they require no fresh comment, that which I
 made on the Designs of Scindia in my Letter of the 27th Ulmo. will apply
 to these also. I therefore do myself the honor to enclose a Duplicate.
 With perfect Respect I am &c.,

Delhy,
 March 2, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
 H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 64

50. Copy of a Letter from Madho Row Sindia to the Nawab Mujid ul Dowla received 6th rubbecassanie.¹

From the Hindee Letters by Anund Row Nurse every thing was le rnt. I am at leisure from the Concerns in Hand² and I am ready and determined. When the Requests of Anund Row have received Concurrence, let them be soon executed. I am ready for an Introduction to the Presence and a meeting with my friends and the Settlement of Affairs. I have before written on the Subject of Counsels which were contrary to Foresight, and I write in repetition that they would be real Damage to the throne, and that Shame in your own Act cannot produce advantage, and that all these Thoughts will not end in Profits, and that in one Sheath two Swords can not find Room. In this Case with the greater

Expedition the plan of management for the requests of Anund Row shall be maturely fixed, the more adviseable for the presence and my Friends. I also can come and I am ready. It is proper that you should consider me as arrived immediately upon the Receipt of an explicit answer. Unanimity is the Condition.

51. Copy of a Arzie of Madho Row Sindia for the royal presence recd. the 1st Rubbeeassanie¹ 25th year² with Anund Row Nursee.

Should many adviseable Request which will be represented from the Letters of Anund Row Nursee and the Nawab be done conformably to my Petition, I am ready and desirous to pay my humble Respects, and I have my Foot in the Stirrup to Obtain the Happiness. As the Knowledge of Rights and the Foresight and worthy System of your majesty with the Sight of your favouring Eyes soon perceive the Good and bad of all Advices, the Nawab and Anund Row Nursee will represent fully, should it come to pass in conformity thereto I am more than formerly ready for the presence, and after paying my respects I shall be excited for, my Happiness and the Settlement of the Concerns, and resolved with the Gridle [*sic*] of Intention to the risk of my Life.

No. 65

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

By the Dawk of this Day I have the Honor to send you the following papers thro Captn. Scott Viz.,

No. 1. A duplicate of his Majesty's Shoka relating to the Treaty with Afrasiab Khan.¹

2. A Letter from Mujid ul Dowlah on the same Subject.

3. A Shoka from the Shah desiring you will give me your Order to accompany the Shahzada and Afrasiab Khan² when they march.

4 & 5. Letters from Mujid ul Dowlah and Afrasiab Khan on the same subject.

6. Mujid ul Dowlah's Answer to your last Letter.

7. a Copy of the Shah's Shoka in answer to Scindia's Arzee of which App. No. 52. I sent a Copy the 2nd and 5th Instant.

8. Ditto of Mujid ul Dowlah's Letter in reply to Scindia's two Letters of which I sent Copies the 23d of February and 2d App. No. 53. Instant with Duplicates the 5th.

The 1s and 2d require no remarks—on the 3d, 4th and 5th I have only to say that they are produced by my having objected to go anywhere except by your Order unless the Shah should march himself. If you please I think the best answer to this will be that you have given

me Orders to act in every thing as shall be most useful and acceptable to his Majesty but have left the Method of doing it to my Discretion.

Respecting Nos. 7 and 8 I beg leave to remark that nothing has prevented a positive refusal to Scindia's proposal but the Doubts conceived of your entering into the Treaty required by his Majesty—can you then My dear Sir too soon remove these Doubts? From Scindia's Conduct on this Occasion there can be little Doubt of his opposing us in this Quarter if he can prevail on his Majesty to agree with him for that End shall we forward the Views of this false Friend and Dangerous Neighbour by neglecting to accept in Time the Offers of the Shah and his Ministry. I beg Leave to mention this Treaty in one more point of View in which it is no less desirable. You have offered to serve the Shah—perhaps the state of our Finances would have made it Difficult to do so on any other motive but his Majesty has rendered it easy by his proposal which will cost nothing in the Execution, will give great and immediate Advantage to us by acquiring an Ally and excluding our Enemies from hence and in its effect be highly Beneficial to the Shah by the Cr[edit] and Efficiency it will give to his Government. For all these reasons I impatiently Expect your Answer to the Shokas and Letters on that Subject and I hope at the same Time to receive your Instructions on the Subject of the Interview proposed by Afrasiab Khan particularly as to the place. Should it meet with your Approbation Anufshere appears by its situation to be as fit a place as can be chosen for both parties.

If this Interview should take place as I sincerely hope it will I have no Doubt that Afrasiab Khan will carry Mirza Soleman Shiko with him and I shall use my Endeavours to induce his Majesty to send Mujid ul Dowlah also. I am with perfect Respect &c.,

Dehly,
5th March, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 65

52. Copy of a Draft of a royal Shooka addressed to Madho Row Sindia in answer to his Arzie reed. the 1st Rubbeeassanie 21st year.¹

Your Petition sent by you my fortunate Son came under the royal Sight and was honored by royal perusal. What you have represented that should many advisable Requests which will be represented from the Letters of Anund Row Nursee and the Nawab be done conformably to your Petition you are ready and desirous to pay your humble Respects, and you have your foot in the Stirrup to obtain the happiness. As the knowledge

of Rights and Foresight and worthy System of my Majesty with the Sight of my favoring Eyes soon perceive the good and bad of all Advices, the Nawab and Anund Row Nursee will represent fully ; should it come to pass in conformity thereto you are more than formerly ready for the Presence and after paying your Respects you shall be exerted for your happiness and the Settlement of the Concerns, and resolved with the Girdle of Intention to the risk of your Life ; and also whatever you have written in your Letter to my worthy Son Ashruff ul Omra Mujed ud Dowla Bahader², that at this time repeatedly from the News papers of Lucnow and Delhi you have learnt that the Mind of my enlightened Majesty has been turned towards Plans—Altho' the rights of one Side are near, and immature Counsels have been offered to my Majesty and the management of the Throne has been investigated ; as yet also if with Sincerity and truth removing my hand from these Plans and acting conformably to the Requests of Anund Row Nursee I will erase from my pure Mind the immature Counsels I may know you to be with your foot in the Stirrup, and let me with the greatest Ease of Mind summon you to the Presence on Condition of Sincerity—that by the blessing of God you will soon in the next month depart towards the Presence with a strong Army for the purpose of verifying your Words ; it was all fully learnt by my royal Mind governing the World. My Son ! pleasure is not turned to any plans which could be contrary to the Support of your Rights or be Cause of Injury to royalty, and without your Advice the management of the Concerns of the Throne has not been investigated. You are firm and fixed on the Frontiers of that quarter, and my exalted Son Ameer ul Omra Bukshee ul momalik Ashruffud Dowla Bahader, who having taken leave for a short time from the splendid presence is gone to punish the Seiks, will soon return to the presence and be honored by kissing the royal Threshold—After the arrival of my said Son at the enlightened presence whatever may be advisable for the Settlement of the Throne I will write it to you with my Pen of favor—It is certain that you will act according to what is required by sincere attachment and real allegiance. These particulars I have declared to my said worthy Son ; he will write, and you will be informed by the Hindce letter of Anund Row Nursee. For the rest knowing the Kingly favors to be attached to your Concerns send constantly Arzies to the favoring Presence.

53. Copy of a Draft of a Dispatch from Nawab Mujed ul Dowla to Madho Row Sindia.

Your friendly Letter with an Arzie for the enlightened presence thro' the Hands of Anund Row Nursee favored me by its' arrival and made me happy by the acquisition of you Kindness. You had written that at this time repeatedly from the Newspapers of Lucnow and Delhi you have learnt that the Mind of his enlightened Majesty has been turned towards Plans, altho' the rights of one Side are near, and Immature Counsels have been offered to his Majesty, and the Management of the throne has been investigated,

as yet also if with Sincerity and truth removing his Hand from these Plans and acting conformably to the requests of Anund Row Nursee he will erase from his pure Mind the Immature Counsels he may know you to be with your Foot in the Stirrup, and let him with the greatest Ease of Mind Summon you to the Presence on Condition of Sincerity. By the Blessing of God you will soon in the next month depart towards the presence with a Strong Army for the purpose of verifying your words ; the Word of Friends is trusty.

My Friend ! I presented to the royal Eyes your friendly Letter in the Original with the Arzie of the presence which was full of these particulars and the said Row also represented fully the requests contained in the Hindee Letter. A royal Shooka¹ in Answer to your Arzie has been granted ; it has been Delivered to the said Row ; you will become acquainted with the contents of the royal Shooka ; the sum is this that the beloved Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader having taken leave of the presence is lately gone to Destroy the rebels. As soon as he shall return from that Quarter his Majesty has ordered that whatever may be agreed with the Advice of Ameer ul Omra shall be written to you.

No. 66

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

This Days Dawk conveys to Captn. Scott for your perusal another letter from Scindia to Mujid ul Dowlah received yesterday—by this you will perceive how very earnest he is on the Subject on which his former Letters were written. I mean the being called to Court to exclude the English. No Comment is requisite on Matters so Obvious.

Every Man here is in Expectation of your reply to his Majesty's requisition.¹ I am with perfect respect &c.,

Dehly,
March 11th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 66

54. Copy of a Letter from Madho Row Sindia to Mujed ud Dowla Bahader received 17th Rubbeeassanie¹ 1197 year.

Before this² successive Shooka of the splendid Presence and Letters of my Friends arrived at full length with a positive Summons, and now

unexplicit Orders have been delivered to Anund Row Nursee, and various Counsels are in hand. From this Cause the Intentions of the Presence and my Friends are not plainly known : and the important Business of settling the Throne is pending ; from Words and Discourses both Sour and Sweet the forwarding of Business cannot take place. If the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Afrasiab Khan make Stories, of what Consequence is it, who has not met with what he deserved ? I perceive that these Excuses are for himself. Write plainly on this Subject. Formerly the Nawab Zoolficar ud Dowla Bahader deceased was supreme in the Concerns of royalty, at that time secretly summoning Orders used to arrive,³ and now it is in this Way. His Majesty and my Friends appear to have other Intentions. As my Interview with the English Gentlemen is in Hand, you will discover the Advantages of these Counsels ; at that time I shall be without Fault. Disgrace will produce no profit. Two words under your own Hand were written in the letter of Anund Row Nursee and you wrote separately : it is then plain that you have conceived Plans in your Mind. Therefore if the Settlement of the Concerns of the Throne in conjunction thro' me be agreed to, having removed your Hand from all Sides write in the Shooka of the splendid presence and the Letters of my Friends with Sincerity and without a veil and openly conformably to the Draft which I formerly sent, that I may without stopping arrive with my Armies and be employed in Settling the Concerns : and if any other Advice should appear proper write plainly to me.

No. 67

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My Dear Sir,

Since I had the honor to address you the 11th Instant—I have transmitted to Capt. Scott Scindias Arzee for the Shah which accompanied the Letter to Mujid ul Dowla the Copy of which I enclosed the 11th. This Day I send another Letter and Arzee from the same person, nothing can be said respecting them that has not been repeatedly said in full addresses. I am &c.

Dehly,
March 14th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 67

55. Copy of an Arzie of Madho Row Sindia for the Royal Presence Recd. the 20th Rubbeeassanie 25th Year.

Before this a Petition containing my firm desire to Obtain the happiness of Kissing your Feet and a request for consent to the representations of Anund Row Nursee who would represent the Contents of a Hindee letter will have been laid before the royal Sight. I was with my Foot in the Stirrup Expecting your Orders when the besieged Raja² took refuge in Shame and became ashamed of his unworthy Actions and being near to Death from the Stoppage of Provisions he gave up Gohed³ and waited upon me and the Business ended in Victory. I ascribe it to the assistance of your glorious Auspices and my sincere Intentions ; my One Heart becoming like a thousand Hearts I am desirous of Kissing your Feet, and I am anxious for your Orders. The Nawab⁴ will represent explicitly and Anund Row Nursee would make his Requests.

56. Copy of a Letter from Madho Row Sindia to the Nawab Muced ud Dowla Bahader reed. 20th Rubbeeassanie.

Praise be to God that conformably to the Wishes of my friends the nearly conquered Matter of Gohed has ended in Victory. Considering it to have been caused by his Majesty's auspices, my Desires, and the Wishes of my friends, I am grateful for the royal favors which have always been extended towards my Concerns, and I congratulate all my friends and Welwishers on this glorious Event. I formerly sent to Court a Petition for the presence and Letters to my real friends and full Communication in a Hindee Letter to Anund Row Nursee. I was expecting an explicit Answer when the Conquest of Gohed and the Escape of the Ranna¹ took place and the Obstinate Man being without Hands and Feet reposed upon me his Life and Honor when from the stoppage of Provision his Companions being joined to Hunger refused to act and came near to my Tent.² Accordingly from this District I am altogether at Leisure, and have my Foot in the Stirrup expecting Orders. This is Wisest that you should send with the greatest Expedition an explicit Answer conformably to the Requests of Anund Row Nursee, that it may soon Arrive.

No. 68

TO the Honble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

The Dawk of yesterday brought me from Captain Scott your Persian answers to his Majestys Shokas and Afrasiab Kn. Letters¹ respecting the Treaty with the latter. After what I have so often wrote you of the Solicitations of Scindia that a Treaty should be concluded with him, and a Body of the Troops sent for to the presence for purposes which I have repeatedly specified and wch. this Treaty was designed to prevent—I need not describe the Disappointment received from the Indefinite terms of your Letter which without taking the least notice of the proffered Alli-

ance only informs the Nawab that you are not coming up with any Views of hostility towards him ; nay it goes further and tells how he can have no Occasion for Assistance, tho his earnest Solicitations for our [all]iance² most evidently demonstrate the Cont[rary ?] and Afrasiab Khan can have no Idea of his meaning being misunderstood he considers these Expressions (and more especially the latter) as designed to convey a Refusal of his request, and the probable Consequence is his immediately entering into the Treaty required by Scindia. When this is effected and Scindia is strengthened with this Alliance perhaps he may still adhere to his Treaty with the English,³ but we shall certainly be in a great measure dependant for the safety of the Nawab Vizier's Country on that Faith which has lately appeared at Gohud in no very favorable light. I shall wait on the Nawaub early in the Morning and endeavour to keep him in friendly Disposition towards our Nation and to prevent his coming to any Conclusion with Scindia till he hears from you again—perhaps his moderation of Disposition may enable me to succeed but I am by no means certain of it.

You have not been pleased to take any Notice of the Amir ul Omrahs desire that an Interview should take place between you and him. My dear Sir do not imagine that these Omissions are considered as acc[ident?] or indifferent, they are considered as premeditated Insults and assumptions of superiority. Let me therefore beg leave to advise that it has been omitted in this Letter you will either write the Nawaub on that point upon receiving this Letter or instruct me what to say to him, for at present it is a Matter of Astonishment here that the Amir ul Omrah should propose a meeting with any Sardar in Hindostan without receiving an Answer to the proposal.

I cannot conclude without observing that during above 12 Months that I have amongst these Sardars I have never once received an Answer to any Letter which I have had the honor to address to you, tho' many of them have been on Objects utterly unprovided by my Instructions, on which I was considerably liable to err from your Intentions and from which Errors much Evil might have aro[se] till December Major Davy's Answer on your part always told me I should know everything after I got to Dehly—above 3 months have elapsed⁴—since my arrival here but I am still as much uninformed on every point as I was the first Day. Now that you are so near and disencumber[ed] from all the Detail of Business which at Calcutta distracts the Attention of administration and prevents a constant Vigilance over the merely political transactions, I flatter myself that I shall be honored with so much of your [atten]tion as may enable me to act to your instruction and with some Credit and confidence in myself. With perfect Respect, I am &c.,

Dehly,
March 24, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 69

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings, Esqr.

My dear Sir,

In my address of last Night I had the Honor to inform you that I should wait on the Amir ul Omrah this Morning in order to keep him in that Temper of Mind which might prevent his coming to any Conclusion with Scindia till he should receive your final Answer on the subject of the Treaty, after you have consulted the Vizier and the Gentlemen of the Council I found him very well satisfied of the Sincerity of your professions that you have no designs [in] this Quarter inimical to him but disappointed and embarrassed to the last degree by your Silence respecting the Treaty. He observed that his Endeavours to cement a lasting Friendship with the English Nation which he thought would be the means of his future strength and security will by the Rejection of the Treaty be converted into those of his Destruction since Scindia who now presses him to an alliance will become his inveterate Enemy when he finds that nothing but a Rejection from the English could have induced him to listen to any connection with the Marattas. He desired me to assure you that you will find yourself fatally deceived if you rely on the Faith of Scindia when he shall have strengthened himself by this Alliance with the Moguls and his Majesty's Name that he has already secured the Rahillas both within and without the Viziers Dominions who are ready to join him on his first movement that way. With these Supports the Viziers Country will be invaded. His Majestys Tribute, the Maratta Chout, the Restoration of the Rohilla Chiefs and of Rajah Cheyt Sing will be made the pleas while the Objects of the Invasion will be the plundering and either rendering Tributary or dividing among them the Dominions of the Vizier and the Company—the Assurance of this Diversion on this Side has he says been used as the means of preventing Tippoo Sultan from concluding peace with us. All these Matters are detailed in the Letters of Himut Behadre and Kotul Khan to which the Letters of Scindia refer : without giving implicit Credit to every part of this Detail allow me to say dear Sir that it is more than probable that the greatest part of it is True—for in the first place on what honest Grounds can Scindia who is our Ally wish to oppose our Connections with the Shah and his Servants, and that in such a violent Degree as to offer to support their Opposition to us by force of Arms. Is this consistant with his Treaty with us or can any Confidence be rationally reposed in him after such a Measure ? Again with what Views can he solicit his Majesty's

being brought to Agra as he does in the Letters to Afrasiab Khan of which I this day send the Copies to Captain Scott

App. No. 57. which are confirmed by the News paper from his Camp ? what Business of the Shah is he to arrange ? He cannot mean the internal Government, since Afrasiab Khan has the sole Charge of that. We cannot well suspect him of a design to March to Sirhind or Lahore¹ on principles of disinterested

Loyalty—where then is he to carry his Majesty or where can this *Business of the Empire* require the Moghul and Maratta arms to arrange it, if not in Owde or Bengal ?

Besides Scindia's Letters I send the Newspapers from his Camp by which it appears that he is preparing the Shah for a favourable Opinion of Cheyt Sing.

I also send the Answer of Afrasiab Khan to your Letter of yesterday's receipt ; it is written with the utmost plainness and sincerity and I entreat Dear Sir you will give it your attentive perusal and immediate reply, it is my Opinion that in deciding on this matter you will determine a point including the most important Consequences of any that for a considerable Time has engaged your Consideration. I shall not offer any further advice on the Subject : the Facts are clear and of no small Magnitude and no person can judge of them so ably as yourself ; all I beg leave to request is that your answer be speedy and decisive : by omitting the first you will deeply injure the Man who Seeks the Friendship and Alliance of the English Nation, and without the latter, great Doubt of the Truth and sincerity of our professions will arise and we shall become suspected at least [*sic*] by all sides. Permit me once more to request your answer respecting the Interview with Afrasiab Khan² which he mentioned to me again today ; if it can be effected more Business will be done in a Day than can be transacted by writing in a Month.

Delhy,
March 25th, 1784.

I am &c.,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 69

57. Copy of a Letter of Madho Row Sindia to the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader received 2d Jemmadié ul awul.¹

Two Letters of friendly Contents made me happy by their arrival and gladdened me by learning the System of your Friendship. By God's Grace the System is always daily encreasing. According to the Engagements and Treaties made between us thro' Maha Raja Himmut Bahader I am firm and fixed. The real Advice of the time is this that you should speedily come to Akberabad in attendance upon his Majesty that being made happy by an Interview we may settle the Concerns by mutual Advice and Consent. If it should be wise to stay a few days at the Presence, you must send repeately Shookas of the royal Presence without delay to summon me, and if you will not do either of these two Counsels I am without blame and I will do whatever shall appear proper for my own Concerns. You will learn full particulars from the Writing of Maha Raja Himmut Bahader and

Cotul Khan and Wojee ud Dien Khan. Really there is no place left for accusation.

Copy of a Letter of Pateel Saheb to the Nawab Ameer ul Omra received 3d Jemmadie ul awul² 26th Year.³

I formerly wrote a Letter on the Subject of many necessities which I in person explained fully to Cotul Khan. He will write. Conformably thereto having caused to be written I will send 3 or 4 times repeated letters containing an anxiety for a Summons which may arrive sooner than the Khans⁴ and Maha Raja Himmud Bahader can write—"Verses" I do not say cause you your own Damage or remain in the thoughts of Profit ; know the Opportunity to be pressing and whatever you do do it quickly.

Copy of a dispatch of Pateel Saheb to the Nawab Ameer ul Omra received 10th Jemmadie ul awul⁵ 26th Year.

From the happy news of your arrival at the splendid Presence I received the greatest pleasure. It is necessary that in attendance on the royal Stirrup you turn speedily and without stopping towards Akberabad. Know me to be soon arrived—God be praised that I am determined upon settling the Concerns of royalty and an introduction of Obeisance according to my desire with the junction of my Friends. Maha Raja Himmud Bahader and Mahomed Cotul Khan will write fully and you will become informed. This is wisest that you make me happy by an explicit Answer of the news of your march towards this Quarter, because really the taking place of this is most advisable—what more should I write except the anxiety for an Interview ?

No. 70

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

Tho I never have the honor of receiving a Single Line from you and consequently am very unequal to forming a perfect conception of your Designs in this Quarter, yet the Reasons which have led you to demur about accepting the alliance of a power Commanding a very large Army close to the Frontier of your Ally the Vizier and to whom you have always professed the most entire Friendship are too obvious not to have occurred to me, and I will beg leave therefore to examine them and offer the Remedy which at once present themselves to prevent the Evils which you apprehend and which have deterred you from catching at the very great Advantages arising to our Nation from the proposed Alliance with Afrasiab Khan. In doing this too I will avoid taking into consideration the Duplicity of Scindias Conduct of which however I have the strongest conviction, but

will suppose everything hitherto have been perfectly fair on his part.

It appears to me my dear Sir that there are but two reasons, one or both of which have led you to hesitate in accepting an Offer so replete with advantages to our nation and our Ally the Nabob Vizier, as the Treaty of Alliance offered to us by the Shah and his Ministers. The first of these reasons is the apprehension that it may involve the Company in Expence. The second reason is that it may be construed into an Infringement of our Treaty with the Marattas.¹ I will examine them both. The first of these reasons appears to me to be Erroneous because the Treaty expressly specifies "that the Aid to be furnished is to be paid for": it of course rests with our Government to obtain such security for payment of the subsidy² as shall satisfy them before they order the March of their Troops and this being admitted it assuredly follows that instead of loosing, the Company are gainers, by this alliance the whole sum which those Troops will receive in pay and the whole Force of the Moghul Army. If these be losses our Treaty with the Nawaub Vizier too must be one; in a Word my Dear Sir to acquire Allies must be to weaken and to receive Subsidies must be to impoverish ourselves.

With respect to the second of the Reasons, it seems to me as ill founded as the first. The 13th Article of our Treaty with the Mahrattas says that the English will not afford Assistance to any Nation at Enmity with the Marattas; and in the 14th Article, the English and the Marattas do mutually agree not to assist each other's Enemies: but my dear Sir do either of these apply to the Shah and his Ministers? does Scindia or any other of the Dekan Sardars positively call himself the Shah's Enemy, for so he must for this Objection to operate in the smallest Degree—besides as Afrasiab Khan in his Letter desires that you will alter such things as you please³ in the Draught of the Treaty, why may not an Article be made expressly saying "The English will not on any account act inimically against the Marattas so long as they shall adhere to the Terms of their alliance with the English but in case of any Differences between the Shahs Ministers and the Marattas the English will remain neutral". This stipulation instead of weakening our alliance with the Marattas, will strengthen it (or at least our Security for its Continuance) by convincing the Marattas that their own safety is materially interested in keeping their Faith with the English which is a more rational Foundation for our own Security than the personal faith and Moral Character of any Sardar of the Dekkan. At the same time that it will save us from the shame and Humiliation as well as the Danger of totally abandoning the Shah after all our professions as well as rejecting the proffered alliance of the Moghul Sardars and incurring the consequent Resentment of both and all this on no better Ground than our being fearful that the Marattas may not be perfectly pleased to see the English acquire the security of a new ally for be assured my dear Sir, whatever Gloss may be put upon the Matter by Scindia, this is the real source of any Opposition which he may make to the Treaty proposed to the English by the Moguls and even that Motive would have been too weak to urge him to

insult our Nation with such an Opposition, if it were not for the persuasion which he has of our submitting to any thing rather than to create a possibility of incurring his Displeasure : a temper to which he has been brought by the successes which he has met with in the Rajhwarrah Districts and the Consequent adulation of his Neighbours. For my own part I doubt not that Scindia allows his Vanity to deceive him in this point, at least of this I am certain that if we have any such apprehensions of the Maratta Power we cannot by any means so effectually increase our Danger as by submitting to the first encroachment which in every human Occurrence invariably leads to another. With perfect Respect I am &c.,

Dehly,
29th March, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 71

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honor to address you the 29 which Letter I hope has reached you safe. By this Dawk I send to Captn. Scott another Letter from the Amir-ul-Omra¹ to which I beg you will direct an Answer to be written as soon as with convenience may be.

I have sent you at different Times the clearest proofs which he could give under his own hand of the Duplicity of Scindia respecting the English Nation. Tomorrow or next Day I expect to transmit something further on the same subject. I am with perfect respect and Gratitude &c.,

Dehly,
31st March, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 72

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I am just returned from the Kelah where by his Majesty's Orders I joined in Conference with Amir ul Omrah Mujid ul Dowlah on the subject of the treaty with the Former—all the Arguments which I have so often

repeated were advanced to prove the great advantages which would arise from it to both parties, as well as the extreme Imprudence of trusting to the good Faith and Moderation of the Mahrattas: a Freeh proof of Scindia's Duplicity¹ was at the same Time exhibited to me, it is the Wajib-ul-Ariz presented by him to the Shah thro' his Vakeel here,² and consists of six Articles. The first is desiring to be called to the presence with his Army—the succeeding four require Jaydads for his Troops and Jagheers for himself. The last article requests that the office of Amir ul Omrah be bestowed on him. This he sent at the very Time that he is soliciting an Alliance with the Amir ul Omrah and professing the most perfect friendship for him. After such flagrant proofs of falsehood as this, as his offering to oppose by force our approaches to the Presence, and as his treacherously seizing on the Ranah of Gohud³ who met him on the Faith of Oaths and promises, can we my dear Sir too carefully secure ourselves from becoming the Dupes of such a Man and that not in any Trifling Degree but in matters concerning the Existence of ourselves and our Allies. The Amir ul Omrah wishes me to go to you at Lucnow and to urge you to a speedy conclusion of this Business, that if you refuse him the alliance of the English and the Vizier he may secure himself by joining the Marattas and entering into their Views. This I have agreed to do should his Majesty require it, and a person be sent with me on the Part of the Shah who shall be fully empowered to conclude any thing agreed on with you and the Vizier. I proposed Mujid ul Dowlah but I fear their wretched suspicions and Jealousies will prevent their sending him—should you disapprove of my coming, you will be so indulgent as to advise me of your pleasure, as otherwise I shall think myself authorised to proceed to you at his Majesty's Requisition.

One thing I discovered at this Conference which I beg leave to recommend to your Consideration, which is that this Treaty will be received in full of every thing and you may rest secure on the subject of the Shah's Claims on Bengal—Korah—and Allahabad—claims which however obsolete we may think them will otherwise become some Time or other the source of an Expensive and unpopular War for the Company.

I have often said and I now repeat it that you must not by any Means expect to leave things here as you found them, you must secure to yourself Friends or expect to encounter Enemies. This I have said with such lights as cannot deceive me, and I was in hopes you would have thought it worthy your attention. With great Respect I am &c.,

Dehly,
April 1st, 1784.

Signed. J. Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 73

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

The 1st Instant I had the Honor to address you on the Subject of the Views of the Marattas and informing you that the Amir ul Omrah was very desirous of my paying my respects to you at Lucnow for the End of obtaining your speedy Determination respecting the Treaty &c. and that I had agreed to go upon his Majesty's requisition (agreeable to the spirit of your Instructions) which I expected him to make.

I was yesterday honored by a long Visit from the Amir ul Omrah and Mujid ul Dowlah to consult on the Matter. It is agreed to send a person on the Shah's part for the appearance of the thing, but his Majesty as well as the Amir ul Omrah has Determined to invest me with full powers on his part to lay his Wishes before you and the Vizier and to conclude such agreement with both on his part as shall be described in his Instructions. The same powers will be given me by the Amir ul Omrah.

The Amir ul Omrah again expressed his Wish to have a meeting with you and says he will march to the appointed place as soon as you fix upon it. Let me request your immediate answer to this point. By this Dawk I send to Capt'n. Scott four Copies for your Inspection Viz., No. 1 Copy of a Letter from Scindia to Hymut Behadre. No. 2 Do. from Hymut Behadre to Afrasiab Khan. No. 3d Do. from Do. to Mehrban Khan. No. 4th Do. from Ketel Khan to Afrasiab Khan.

App. No. 53.
No. 59.
No. 60.

I shall not trouble you with any Remarks except on the second which is so admirable a Letter that it puts an End to all doubt, it lays open the whole Machinery, and is in short of a quality to convey light to the Blind and hearing to the Deaf. By this it appears that Scindia Wants the Shahs shoka for sending Troops to Dehly only as an Authority *Dustaceez* for breaking with the English—the Opinion entertained of the Integrity of the English is expressed in a Style equally clear and offensive and the comparative strength of our Nation relatively to Scindia is set forth in Colours to excite respect for the Latter : I will not say what for the former. This is the Letter of Rajah Himut Behadre whom Scindia has declared his Plenipotentiary for Negotiating with Afrasiab Khan and is of Course Scindias own Letter.

I have nothing to add to this but to inform you that your Silence with respect to the many important points communicated to you embarrasses every person concerned exceedingly—nor is it in my power to answer the Questions daily put to me on subjects with which I ought to be perfectly acquainted. I am with great Respect &c.,

Dehly,
3d April, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 73

58. Copy of a Letter from Madho Row Sindia to Raja Hummit Bahader recd. 7th Jemmadie ul awul¹ 25th Year.²

I learn from the newspapers that the Nawab Ameer ulomra Bahader being Arrived³ at the enlightened presence has brightened the forehead of Submission by the Adoration of the benefit bestowing threshold. From this Circumstance pleasure without End has been recd. The Advice for the Settlement of the Concerns of the throne is this, that speedily without delay He should go in attendance upon the royal Stirrup to Akberabad and should consider me, who Am on every Account Determined upon paying my Respects, to be very speedily Arriving. On this Point write strongly to the Nawab that he may Act as the favorable Opportunity requires.

59. Copy of a Dispatch of Maha Raja Himmet Bahader to Ameer ul Omra recd. 10th Jemmadie ulawul¹ of the same Year.

Formerly whatever full particulars and real advice existed I repeatedly represented them to you, but from the newspapers I learn that to this time you have no Thought of this Quarter, and I do not find any spirited exertions in those Concerns where the mind should be really exerted—and the Advice upon Matters Depending on secrecy in which nothing but zealous wishes for the Sircar is contained and the Secrets of mighty Chiefs which are plainly written, you shew in private to improper persons². This Matter is real astonishment, and is a Cause of Distress at what may be the Intentions of the Almighty. If you intend to manage and keep Kingdoms without care and Exertion it is Difficult. By the grace of God Pateel Sahib³ is so employed in your Friendship that altho' from the royal presence and also in my Letters it was written with length and positiveness [to] Cotul Khan for him to stay there, yet Pateel Sahib out of regard to your friendship has sent the said Khan for your speedy coming, because time is not left and the Governor Bahader is arrived at Lucnow.⁴ The Kareeta⁵ of Pateel Sahib to your address and to me, and the Arzie of the said Khan which had formerly arrived, are sent to you, and Pateel Sahib has given with Cotul Khan a treaty conformable to Nassirud Dowla⁶ deceased and the Ratification—Altho' a treaty such as is proper is already existing at the presence and there was no necessity of a new treaty, yet for the removal of these Excuses another treaty being prepared is arrived. Now what excuse remains? make that also Known. On the Day after tomorrow which will be the 9th of this Month⁷ the said Khan will arrive with me and I also solely for this that I am arrived from Pateel Sahib near to Feerozeabad am expecting the news of Pateel Sahib's march. As soon as Pateel Sahib shall march to the Banks of the Jumna I also Joining with him will labor as far as my power—the rest depends on the Will of God.

60. Copy of a Letter from Maha Raja Himmud Bahader to Meherban Khan Bahader recd. 10th Jemadie ul awul of the same Year.

Before this I have repeatedly written to the Presence and also to You Whatever Advice in Affairs was proper to be written, and besides it must have been learnt from the Newspapers. Do not believe that Thoughts of important Concerns do not come into the Minds of the Gentlemen.¹ Further whatever Secrets of moment which contain nothing but Zealous Wishes for his Highness are written plainly and without Veil he speaks in private of those Chiefs from whom alone is the concealment of Secrets and yet he shews the Original to improper persons this Matter is Cause of great Distress at what may be the Intention of the Almighty. Altho' Pateel Saheb writes for him to come speedily yet I do not hear the smallest Intention for this Quarter. In the end altho' I repeatedly wrote to Cotul Khan about staying near the Pateel and from the Presence also it has been peremptorily written to forbid his coming from thence, yet Pateel Saheb from the great Encrease of the Friendship of his Highness,² as time was not left, has dispatched the said Khan with the ratification of the Treaty conformably to Nassir ud Dowla deceased. Karetas from Pateel Sahib for his Highness and me and a Letter for you and an Arzie of the said Khan arrived before—they have been sent to you and from them the Friendship of Pateel Saheb will be learnt. At present if any other Excuse remain write it, or knowing this time to be a good opportunity come speedily to Akberabad. Otherwise wait in expectation of supernatural Assistance.

No. 74

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

Yesterday evening a discovery was made to the Amir ul Omrah of a Conspiracy against his Life¹ by a Number of people employed by Mirza Zein ul Abedeen Khan,² one of whom turned Informer against the others and produced the written Engagement given by Mirza Zein ul Abedeen Khan to the Conspirators which specifies the reward they were to receive. The Amir ul Omrah had secured the Inferior Conspirators but Mirza Zein ul abedeen Khan having taken Asylum with the Old Begum Nudjif Khan's Sister he has as yet taken no further steps against him.

The 3d Instant I advised you of the State of Affairs here relative to my attending you with his Majestys and the Amir ul Omrah's propositions, since that his Majesty has personally laid his Commands on me to that End. The Khelats for yourself and the Vizier will go at the same Time but the Day of my Departure is not yet fixed. His Majesty has desired me to leave as many of my people and things here as I can that no Idea may be entertained that I have quitted his Court. When I have

the Honor to see you, I dare say I shall know your Intentions on these Matters. I am with great Respect &c.,

Dehly,
April 13th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True copy
H. Abbott

No. 74

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I addressed you yesterday to inform you of the Conspiracy against the Life of the Amir ul Omrah which has been detected. I now beg Leave to advise you of a Circumstance of much more Importance which happened last night,¹ and the Consequences of which it is not yet quite so easy to foretell. Mirza Jewan Buckt (called also Jehandar Shah) the eldest Shahzada fled from the palace accompanied by his Mother's Brother Akbar Ally Khan² and some other persons³ of little Importance; Nothing more is yet known of his flight than that about 2 O'Clock in the Morning⁴ a party of Horse passed the Jumna a little below the Fort,⁵ which party is supposed to be those who accompanied the Shahzada. The Cause of his Flight is not yet known, as it is not certain that he has been concerned in the Conspiracy of Zein ul Abedien Khan and tho there was a Coldness shewn towards him by the Shah it was not in the Degree which might be expected to produce so extraordinary a Step.

The Place towards which he is fled is also at present unknown but can remain so a very short Time. There are now two Conjectures on the Subject. The first is that he is fled to Scindia—the Second to Lucnow—of these the former appears probable enough. Scindia finding that neither the Shah nor his Ministers will enter into the Views of the Mahrattas and their Confederates for the repossession of Rohilcund, Etawa, Kora, Allahabad and Benares⁶ (independant of the Claims for Chout) wishes perhaps to have a Shah on the Throne, whose ill disposition to the English has long been Notorious, whose Ministry may be formed by Scindias Choice, and their measures dictated by his Advice or if his Designs be not against the Shah's person. at least he wishes to terrify him into his Designs by the Fear of being dethroned in favor of Mirza Jewan Buckt—As to his having fled to Lucnow, the only reason assigned for believing it convinces me of its being Groundless, They say he has had a Khewas⁷ with you for a year past, now as during that Time I have been your Public and I hope confidential Minister at this Court, I know it impossible that you should have carried on any other Correspondence thro such a degrading Channel, even if it could have been attended with any benefit, which it could not.



Mirza Jawan Bakht

I send you thro Captain Scott a Shoka from his Majesty⁸ who is deeply afflicted by this unnatural Rebellion. If my advice may have any Weight I would recommend your offering immediate assistance to the Shah and ordering a Detachment of 3 or 4 Regiments to Anupshere. You will gain a great deal of honor by it very cheaply. I am with perfect Respect &c.,

Dehly,
April 14th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

N.B. This Letter being by Mistake omitted was afterwards copied on this sheet which occasions 2 Numbers of the same.

Sd. H. Abbott

No. 75

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

By this Day's Dawk I send you Duplicates of my Letters of yesterday and the Day before containing an Account of the Conspiracy of Zein ul Abedien Khan and the Flight of Mirza Jewan Buckt—no news of the latter is yet received and as many people believe him to be with you as with Scindia. The Nawaub however [*sic*] Mujid ul Dowlah and a very few more declare their belief that the English are above taking so unnatural and iniquitous a part as supporting a Son and Subject in Rebellion against his Father and King. The rest suppose him to have fled by the English Invitation.

After much Debate today Letters were Dispatched to Nudjif Kooly Khan Mahamedbeg Khan Hamdaney Zabita Khan and the Seiks Sardars who are in a Kind of alliance with the Shahs Ministers to be ready to march at a moment's warning. As soon as it is known where the Shah Zada is gone his Majesty will immediately march into that Country to lay it waste—if the Marattas are the protectors of this Rebellious Son the English will be called upon to assist his Majesty against them. If the English are the Offenders the Marattas will be summoned to invade them immediately.

App. No. 61. By this Day's Dawk I send Captain Scott four more papers from Rajah Hymut Behadre &c.,

Dehly,
April 15th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 75

61. Copy of a Dispatch of Meha Rajah Himmut Bahader addressed to the Ameer ul Omra Bahader received 21st Jemmadie ul awol¹ of the same Year.

The royal Shokah with a Letter for the Pateel Saheb and Strong requisition of the Treaty which is in the possession of Wojeeh ud Din Khan having made its happy arrival, honored me; the Letter which was in the bag addressed to the Pateel Saheb being opened was perused; tho' the Negotiation of important affairs is on foot, the Dispatch was So abridged that not a word was written concerning your Designs; it is necessary to consider that how should the Zeal of People of Business come to Light? If Confidence in me has place in your perfumed heart why did not you write the Arrival of the Treaty and it's ratification, and also you did not mention your motions² and the departure of the Royal Standards. Indeed I am convinced no motion or preparation has taken place. If any motion really had, it would certainly have been mentioned in this Dispatch: therefore the original Letter is Sent back, it being clear that it had not been perused by you; and the treaty and ratification has not been transmitted because that the Pateel and Wojeeh ud Din Khan, commanded great attention that when you attending the Stirrup of the King of the four Quarters of the Globe, before the Interview of the Governor Bahader and the Pateel Saheb, shall proceed to the Dwelling of the Khalifut³ and delay Major Browne⁴ whom you are Sending with a Khilaut &c., for the Governor Bahader, then it will be proper to forward the treaty and ratification. Accordingly the Letter which has come from Mirza Abdurrehim Beg Khan⁵ has been Sent. If Major Browne shall carry the Khilaut and your friendly dispatches for the Governor Bahader, instantly on understanding Such Intelligence I shall send the Treaty and ratification to Pateel Saheb and write a final answer to do whatever may be thought best; and at the request of Some persons the Governor is come from Calcutta, you should consider that he is not negligent thro' confidence in any one. This much blunt language having written merely from motives of good will, I have no wish that it should cause you affliction, and besides Meherban Khan and Raja Narain Doss who else shall be consulted on these Affairs? If you are determined at any rate to send the Khilaut and friendly Letters for the Governor do so by mutual consent after the Interview of the Pateel Saheb.

Copy of a Letter of Maha Rajah Himmut Bahader to Meherban Khan Bahader, Received 21st Jumjadi ulowel 26th Year.

Your Letter with the Shokah of the Presence and a Letter in a bag for the Pateel Saheb arriving Informed me of the Matters therein written, and the Contents of the Letter in the Bag were understood. Tediousness

and Negligence is the Characteristic of his⁶ disposition ; such were the Contents of the Kareeta also therefore it has been Sent back as in Spite of prohibition you have conducted his Highness⁷ from Akberabad to Delhi⁸ the Pateel Saheb has sent to me Khan Aalum and Wajeeh ud Din Cawn merely to prevent his moving. By reason of the Injunction of the Pateel Saheb coming to the Borders of Mettra, altho I obstructed the road, absolutely no attention was paid to it ; you and Rajah Narain Doss with violence bringing his Highness thither threw him into Disputes and from his Coming to the Capital the Pateel Saheb had been offended to such a Degree that no person has had power to justify that Side with Pateel Sahib. On account of my respect and attachment and your Instructions, when having said various particulars you left me at Mettra for this Business, and corresponding Letters of his Highness and you at great Length arrived for adjusting the Friendship of Pateel Saheb, from necessity by various attentions from myself I again made the mind of Pateel Sahib favorable and inclined towards the Friendship of his Highness. Altho' it has been frequently written that first the Conquest of Gohed secondly the Death of Geedar Row Sindia are two causes which make a necessity of a Khellat to Pateel Sahib, to this Time the preparation of his Khellat is delayed, because they have made it the Chief Point to Chuse a Khellat for the Governor. From learning this Intelligence the Temper of Pateel Saheb was again distressed. Accordingly the Letter of Mirza Abad ul rehem Beg Khan which had arrived to the address of Cotul Khan is sent in the original. You must reflect that the Governor Bahader is come from Calcutta by the Invitation of Pateel Saheb⁹ the Interview and Friendship is not delayed and postponed by your Contrivances; the Displeasure of Pateel Sahib's Heart which has been heard of in these latter Days is entirely from my plans and Schemes, and when I had nearly ruined these Wicked English you by one Scheme of sending Major Browne have destroyed in the twinkling of an Eye all this Web. You had written two things at great length, first that in the meeting of Pateel Saheb and the Governor by any means injury should be thrown, and that sending for it I should give you a new treaty with the ratification from Pateel Saheb. By the Grace of God and his Highness's good fortune both of your Desires have been brought to a proper Completion. Now also in his Highness's March in attendance upon his Majesty Delays arise. I understand that you are desirous in your mind to manage both Sides, but you may be well assured that whatever management you write to both Gentlemen, the Information of your Writings to both side comes without reserve to both Parties and both become displeased. When the meeting of these two Gentlemen shall take place your Friendship with both Sides will be destroyed. You should unite with one Side whomever you can have Sincerity with, and write to me this truly and openly. I am not in opposition to you. Whatever be proper you should execute. As soon as I learn the departure of Major Browne with the Khellats I will send back the Ratification and the treaty, and I will write fully and plainly that you may do what you think best. On

my own Side I am Open.

The news writer of Government who resides in the Army sent to me a Copy of the newspaper about Pateel Sahib which had been received from Delhi which I send to you in the Original. When such alarming Intelligence confidential Persons write to Pateel Saheb, in such Case you should consider what dependance will be upon your and my writing.

No. 76

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I had the honor to address you the 15th Instant of which Letter I now enclose a Duplicate. Since that various Intelligence has been received respecting Mirza Jewan Buckt but by far the Majority of reports affirm his being gone to Lucnow, the only Dispute seems to be whether he crossed the Ganges at Anufshire or at Derana Gheer.

I have always contradicted because I disbelieved the Report : but since the arrival of people who say they saw him in RohilCund, I have so far changed my defence of the National Character as only to affirm that if he is gone to Lucnow it has not been by the Invitation of the English, and that his Majesty may rely on his being discountenanced and obliged to return : in support of this assertion I have urged to the Shah and his Ministers that exclusive of the honor and Integrity of the English Nation which will not allow of their giving Countenance to a son rebelling against his Father, and that Father a King for whom the English have always expressed the most dutiful attachment; exclusive of this what Interest could they have in seeking the inferior Support of the Shah Zada's Influence when his Majesty himself is their Friend and well wisher and ready to countenance every View that the English can with propriety entertain : To which I added (which I have repeatedly asserted) that they have not a wish beyond preserving the Friendship and Confidence of every Power in Hindostan.

This morning having been to pay my Respects to his Majesty he directed me to follow him into the Tusbeh Khanna where he was pleased to say that he does not believe that his undutiful son can have fled to Lucnow, but that if he has, his Majesty is confident that the Governor General is too Wise, and too Virtuous a Man, as well as too able a politician to incur the criminality and odium of supporting a son against his Father and a Rebel against his King, that in that conviction he shall be happy to find the Shahzada gone to Lucnow instead of any other Quarter, this he directed me to write immediately to you, that knowing his reliance on the English Honor you may act accordingly.

My departure for Lucnow is not yet positively determined as to the Day tho' the 23d of April is talked of. The Khelats for you and the Vizier, were this Day laid before his Majesty for his Approbation. They are to go

in Company with me. I remain perfectly ignorant of every View you have in this Quarter—and with the greatest Respect I am &c.,

Dehly,
21st April, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 77

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I have now the pleasure to inform you that Kotul Khan, the person who has been the Confidential Agent of Rajah Himut Bahadre with Scindia for the Negotiations of this Durbar arrived here the 27 Instant, and brings with him the Offensive and defensive Treaty to be executed with Afrasiab Khan as well as the Bale Leaf¹ on which the Oath of Scindia is to be taken to this Engagement; the Treaty I learn is the same as that executed last year between M. Shuffy and Scindea of which I have a Copy and its essential parts, Alliance offensive and Defensive with an equal division of "the Conquered Country" respecting which I beg leave to refer you to Major Palmer for my remarks on your Arguments against an Alliance with the Moguls which I this Day have transmitted to him and which I beg you will consider of with attention before my arrival at Lucnow.

The rest of Kotul Khan's Commission is offering 5 Lacs of Rupees to be paid to his Majesty, if after the Treaty with Afrasiab Khan the Shah will accompany him to Agrah, preventing the Despatch of the Khelats for you and the Nawaub Vizier; and my Deputation, from his Majesty to you—to effect this Kotel Khan in Scindias name speaks in the most contemptuous terms of our Nation. He says we deserve the utmost resentment instead of Marks of Favor for retaining his Majesty's Tribute, seizing on the Provinces of Korah and Allahabad and notwithstanding professions of respect and Allegiance, denying the smallest temporary relief to his Majesty's distresses. That we are now weak distressed and no longer objects of Respect and Apprehension, that we have purchased peace with all our Enemies by giving up every thing which we had usurped from Each and are happy that it has been granted even on those Terms.

My dear Sir, the Detail of the Insolence of this low Man gives me great pain in writing it, but it is from these Materials and not from Complimentary Letters that we must judge of Scindias Sincerity.

This Morning I had my Audience of Leave from his Majesty and shall set out the 2d of May. At this Audience the Shah was very

communicative and very earnest in his Injunctions to me on the points confided to me. He directed me in the first place to get the Shahzada dismissed from Lucnow and sent under my Charge to Dehly : the particular motive of his great Anxiety on this Subject he declared to be an Apprehension that his Example may be followed by others of his Sons² who are all unhappy from their urgent Wants and distresses and some of them may put themselves into hands much less safe to the public tranquility than Mirza Jewan Buckt has done. In Reply I assured his Majesty that you and the Vizier would Act as he has desired, but as I was aware that you would both be very Anxious to obtain his Majesty's Forgiveness of this Imprudence of his son I begged to receive his Orders that no delay might arise from having Occasion to consult his Majesty by Letters. In reply his Majesty was pleased to say that tho his Sons conduct had been exceedingly improper, yet as he had shewn no disposition to raise Troubles he would pardon him on the Intercession of you and the Vizier, and that on his returning with me to Dehly he shall be received becoming his Rank. His Majesty then told me that an Idea prevails of the Shahzada's having made his Escape with his Majesty's Connivance, nay that he is charged with his Father's Orders to the English Sardars, and the Shah was pleased to assure me (and direct me to make his declaration known) that this Report was utterly false and that it is his Majesty's Injunction that you dear Sir give no sort of Credit to any assertions of the Shahzada or others to that Effect, nay if even papers should be produced that you will consider them as forgeries.

The Shah then gave me his final Injunctions to call to your mind Dear Sir, his repeated Rejections of the very advantageous Offers made by our Enemies of every kind to him on the Condition of his lending the Sanction of his Name against our Nation, and directed me by every Argument to impress on your Mind a Sense of what is due to his Majesty for such proofs of his Regard ; as well as to our own honor that after so many professions of Loyalty and Attachment we do not fail to give his Majesty some relief from his present emergent Distresses.

Since writing thus far I have received a Shoka from Mirza Jewan Buckt enclosing an Arzee for the Shah soliciting his forgiveness and denying all criminal designs. Things being thus situated I submit it to your Judgment Dear Sir, whether it be not proper to shew so much Countenance to the Shahzada as shall prevent any desire to quit Lucnow for any other Court till I arrive to receive him. With perfect respect I am &c.,

Dehly,
30 April, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 78

Remarks on the Governor's Objections to forming an alliance with the Mogul Sardars.

OBJECTIONS

1st. Times unfavorable just emerged from a ruinous War¹ the prospect of being plunged into another would not be endured.

REMARKS

1st. I am so well convinced of the unfavorable state of the Times that nothing but a very pressing Necessity which appear to me to exist could ever induce me to propose what may tend to renew a dispute with any powers in Hindostan, but the Question now seems not to be whether we shall or shall not have any dispute with the Marattas. Their courting or threatening the Moghul Sardars to enter into a Treaty offensive and Defensive with them, with the Express Stipulation of dividing the Countries conquered into two equal parts, clearly prove that their Design must be against the Nawaub Vizier and the English, since there are no Rajahs in the Country who are not already Tributary to the Mogul or to the Mahratta Sardars or so weak as to be an easy prey to either and consequently far too inconsiderable to be an Object to confederate for the Reduction of, and as to the Sicks there surely is not a shadow of probability that the Marattas shd. propose to attack a State so strong so similar to their own, of nearly the same faith, and above all so remote from their own Territories that no Conquest there could be preserved. The Offer of money (5 Laes) for the Shah's Moving and that movement to Agra² gives the best grounded Cause of suspicion, that the Business requires the Sanction of the Shah's Name and that the scene of Action is near where the Confederacy is to be formed. Now to what place and affairs does this so clearly apply as to the

OBJECTIONS

REMARKS

resumption of Etawa, Korah and Allahabad from the Vizier which ever held by his Majesty's Grant³ and which the Marattas have so long and so anxiously wished for and which they think the present weakness of the English and Vizier promise success in recovering if the King's Name and the Mogul Army are joined to their Cause, and for which purpose they flatter, they promise, they threaten. In this Critical Juncture the Shah and the Mogul Sardars from a long habit of Friendship with the English and from a Knowledge of the Treacherous Character of the Marattas inform us of all this and offer their Alliance to us adding that if we reject it they must join the Marattas and act as they by Treaty shall be bound : thus situated a breach with the Marattas seems certain if we allow them to get the Shah's Name and the Mogul Army in Aid of their Cause, but if we anticipate them in the Alliance there is good ground to think they will be afraid to break with us since they will know that their having escaped Ruin in the last war with us arose solely from our want of Cavalry which would be effectually supplied by the Alliance. I therefore consider this Connection with the Moguls as the only means of securing the preservation of peace with the Mahrattas, or should it fail of this Effect it at least puts 60,000 Men⁴ on our Side who would otherwise be against us a Matter I presume of some Importance.

2d. Scindia not able to
Crush the Moguls &c.

2d. This may be True but why should the Moguls try this while the Marattas invite them to Friendship and share of Conquest, & you reject them evidently from apprehension of

OBJECTIONS

REMARKS

3d. The Governor surprised I should suspect his joining the Marattas against the Moguls &c.

4th. Wishes to avoid embroiling himself with either Party &c.

5th. If I can satisfy the Governor that the Shah can be served without quarrelling with Scindia or any other power or putting the Company to Expence.

the Marattas—will they not rather join the Marattas against you, than stand in Opposition to them to oblige you who reject their Friendship, especially after your Manifest apprehensions of offending the Marattas has fixed the Belief that they are the stronger power of the two. But to put it past conjecture Afrasiab Khan declares that if we do not enter into alliance with him he will with the Marattas.

3d. The Governor having left me in total Ignorance of his Intentions for more than a Year that I have been among these Sardars will I dare say have the Justice to excuse me if I sometimes make wrong Conjectures respecting them.

4th. This is certainly the most eligible, and I am not quite void of hopes that I may be able when I see Mr. Hastings to explain the means of effecting it but if we cannot do that surely the next best Choice is to have but one party to contend with and to secure the other on our own Side but the Measures which I am always pleading against are those which directly tend to unite all parties against us.

5th. This perhaps is impossible but I doubt not to prove to him that if Scindia or other Powers have not *previously* determined to break with us, the Measures to be taken for his Majesty's service will not produce a Rupture with anyone: and if those Powers have predetermined to quarrel with us from the belief of our Weakness, there is no concession however humiliating can prevent them. Vigourous Efforts to strengthen ourselves may.

OBJECTIONS

6th. Mr. Hastings would effectually serve the King if Circumstances would admit, on a principle of Honor &c.

Is sensible he could not more splendidly close his Government—is inclined to wish this from Compassion for the unhappy state of his Majesty.

REMARKS

As to Expence I will not positively say it can be avoided, but I presume a small Expence to secure his Majesty's Friendship is preferable to an enormous one to remedy the ill Effects of his Dispair and resentment for our totally abandoning him. This also I will personally Explain.

6th. I am persuaded of this no less by his repeated written assertions to that effect than by my knowledge of the honor and humanity of his Character.

Not only is some Establishment for the Shahs service the most splendid act by which Mr. Hastings can close his administration, but after the professions which he has made, is so essential to his Credit, that I do not see how he can avoid doing it. This Reflection it is that makes me so urgent with him to devise some means of effecting this point. I still hope it may be done and shall exert every endeavour and faculty to persuade him to this great End.

As to the Shahs Distresses no language can describe them. His Women his Children the *Salatin*⁵ (Branche⁶ of the Royal Family who are kept Confined on Pensions) are in want of Food and Cloathing: it is needless after this to describe the Situation of his Dependants and Servants—the whole scene is absolutely a disgrace to humanity & such as has scarcely ever been exhibited, even by deposed princes, much less by the Monarch of a Great tho broken state to whom all the Component parts acknowledge Allegiance the Seeks excepted, who are above such an Artifice declare they hold their Country by the right of Conquest and have

OBJECTIONS

REMARKS

struck the Shahs name out of their
Coin.⁶

Dehly,
April 30th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 79

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I had the Honor to address you on the 30th Ult. and the 2d Instant sent some Persian Papers to Captn. Scott for your perusal which he will have laid before you. Last Night I received a Letter from the Amir ul Omrah of which a Copy goes to Captn. Scott ; it advises me of the Mutiny of one of his Batn. of Sepoys, which is commanded by one Shu Sing¹ Commandant and was stationed in a pergunnah near this place²; they have crossed over into Rohileund carrying with them 4 field pieces, and say they are going to the Shah Zada for services, and the Amir ul Omrah's wish is that they be sent back to him. The Truth is that the army of the Amir ul Omrah is in such Misery for want of pay owing to the failure of the Crops for four successive years that nothing prevents the Desertion of the whole but there being no power who will entertain them. This is much against his Excellencys Request in point of Justice, but strongly for it in point of political necessity.

My Duty to the Interest of the Nabob Vizier at the same Time makes it proper to suggest that the Guns may with great propriety be detained in part of Retribution for the Effects of the Nawaub Vizier plundered by the Dehly Sardars from Letafat Ally Khan ; as to the people I think every means should be used (in case of their going towards Luenow) to prevent the Shahzada from entertaining one of them, as such a step taken while he is with us and the Vizier cannot fail to produce the Ruin of the Nawaub Afrasiab Khans Affairs and probably the Desction of his whole army, from the Idea that we mean forcibly to conduct the Shahzada to Dehly ; and if this should be suspected to have originated from the Shah, I need not say how dangerous a situation he would be in. In a Word my dear Sir the position of affairs is now so very Delicate and critical that the smallest step may be attended with important and irretrievable Consequences and therefore the greatest Caution is indispensable.

Since beginning this Letter I find that the Battalion is made up from the remains of one of Letafut's and that three out of the four Guns

are of the Number which belonged to his Corps. With perfect Respect I am,
&c.,

Camp at Anopshire,
9th May, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 80

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I had the honor to address you the 10th Instant by Cossids ; since which the extreme badness of the Cattle belonging to the Caravan has compelled me to make two halts ; I hope now to reach Mohaum the 26th where I shall stop unless I hear from you before that, respecting the meeting of the Khelats.

I am particularly anxious to get to Lucnow from the perusal of the Intelligence received from Dehly and Gohud which Captain Scott will lay before you. No. 1 and 2 are Extracts of Letters from my Agent¹ left with the Amir ul Omrah and Mujid ul Dowlah for forwarding their Communication with me ; from both these you will perceive that the great attention shewn to Mirza Jewan Buckt at Lucnow has afforded ground for fear to the Amir ul Omrah, and of Jealousy to the Shah himself : That in Consequence of the Doubts entertained of our Sincerity from this Circumstance, the Confederacy with Scindia and the March of the Shah to Agra, are precipitating but the serious Confusion of that Confederacy will be procrastinated till the answer to the Shah's and the Amir ul Omrahs proposals after my arrival at Lucnow, shall be transmitted by me to Dehly, when if it shall be satisfactory to them the Confederacy will be evaded, and the Shahs march converted into a party of pleasure ; If your answer should not be satisfactory the Confederacy will be perfected and the English must prepare for the Consequences of it. The Terms in which the Nabob has expressed himself are so clear and forcible as not to leave the Shadow of a Doubt what his Intentions are. I beg Leave to call your particular attention to them, that as little Time may be lost in Deliberation as possible, after I have the pleasure to see you.

No. 3 and No. 4 are Extracts from the Dehly and Gohud papers, the first will shew you the preparations making for the Shah's March, the second the Measures of our Ally Scindia for the Extension of his own Authority and the further Manifestation of his inveterate Enmity to all those who have had any Connection with the English. I cannot but regret the Fate of the Narvar Rajah's² Family, because I was personally a Witness³ that he was the only Man of Rank between the Jumna and Seronge who shewed friendship to our Nation—he furnished us with Grain when without that aid our

army must have perished, and now will pay our ally Sindia the forfeit of his Ruin for his Imprudence. I hope however the Intelligence may not be Authentic as it only comes thro the Channel of the News writers. I am with the greatest Respect &c.,

Camp Opposite Futtygurr,
May 20, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 81

TO W. H. Bird Esqr.

I have finished the first grand point of my Negotiation by releasing the Amir ul Omrah from his Embarrassment respecting Scindia. The Governor having given his entire Concurrence to the Alliance between them, convinced that neither of them will deceive him, and that if they should, he can beat them both, since the former will meet with no support from Poonah and Afrasiab Khan's army is purchasable for a couple of Lacks of Rupees ; at the same Time he declares that he only waits the Answer of the Board to letters¹ lately and pressingly written to enter into a Treaty which shall secure the points for which Afrasiab Khan is anxious ; but as the Treaties of the Company are in fact Treaties with the Nation the Shah must be the contracting party, both in Respect to his Rank and that of the English Nation. All this I have minutely detailed in my Letters to Afrasiab Khan. I have at the same Time warned him against any Word or Action which may furnish News writers and such people Grounds to write (as they have written) that he is arming to compel our Government to send back the Shahzada ; because I found Mr. Hastings much exasperated at the Idea of their attempting to intimidate him into a Measure which he might not be inclined to from fair Words : If he Afrasiab Khan Acts as I advise him everything will end as he could Wish, because I will not forget my promise of supporting his Interests, where ever they are Consistant with those of our Nation and with his Duty to the Shah. But if he disregards my advice and follows that of those about him he must not blame me if Evil arise from it. He is on a troublesome Sea, and no one can steer him safe who is not acquainted with every side of it, which no man at Dehly is. I beg you will support these arguments in your Conversation with him both from yourself and from me. I am &c.,

Lucnow,
June 3d, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 82

TO W. H. Bird Esqr.

Dear Bird,

I have been duely favored by rect. of your Letter of May 31 and only deferred answering it so long, in Expectation of hearing from you again in further Explanation of the proceedings of Afrasiab Khan with Respect to the old Nawaub¹; I have not however received yet a Syllable either from you or even from Afrasiab Khan himself, it is therefore in vain to wait any longer.

This action of Afrasiab Khans is so opposite to every principle on which I could have argued in Support of his Interest Vizt. his Loyalty to the Shah his Integrity and regard to his Word and Oath ; his Respect and consideration for the English Nation and for the Nawaub Vizier ; that till that Act shall be reversed he must not expect that I will utter one word in his Behalf ; this Action of his has destroyed the very foundation of my Friendship for him, which always supposed his Loyalty to the Shah and his Friendship for the English Nation.

The sense entertained of his Conduct here he will perceive from the enclosed Letter from me, which I beg—if you cannot go—
 App. No. 62 you will send as enclosed to you but send it by the Hand of Mirza Hedaat ullah Beg,² (lest he should think I am dissatisfied with him which is not my Motive) but I send it through you to give the greater appearance of Consequence to this Despatch ; It Covers a Shoka from the Shahzada, a Letter from the Governor,³ and another from the Vizier, advising nay requiring Afrasiab Khan to release the old Nawaub immediately ; and is accompanied by a letter from me fully explaining everything that is in the others. To say the Truth I wish you would give it him yourself, and at such a Time as it may be read in your presence, that you may see the Effect it produces upon them.

I have warned Afrasiab Khan against the attempt to impose on people here the old story of its having been done by the Shah's Orders, that will not be regarded in the least. I would have you advise him to the same Effect.

Take measures (if you can) to con cy to his Majesty Information of the steps taken for the release of Mujid ul Dowlah, I will take precautions to the same End. Nothing can be more proper than the message you sent to Afrasiab Khan and the Arzee you wrote the Shah on the Occasion of this Treacherous and unmanly Act of the former : Mr. Hastings thought the same and I believe also expressed it.

I wish you would find means of telling Meherban Khan⁴ from me that as I believe he is the only real Friend Afrasiab Khan has at Dehly, I warn him to advise his Master that he be careful how He acts on this Occasion as I am persuaded that a little perseverance in the line which he has adopted since I left him will ruin his Affairs irretrievably. I wrote you the

3d Inst. which I hope you have received.

Luenow,
June 10th, 1784.

I am &c.,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 82

62. Copy of a Draft from Major Browne to Nawab Amcer ul Omra Asshruf ud Dowla Blaming his Conduct in Confining the Nawab Midjid ul Dowla behadur¹ with a Shokah from the presence of the Prince and Letters from the nawab Vizier and Nawab Amaud ud Dowla² written 19th Rejib³ 1198.

Before this having Dispatched an Humble Letter concerning the Affair of the Treaty &c on the 13th Instant⁴ I trust It will have passed your Splendid perusal : thus was I laboring in the said business when the Same Night news which produced great wonder and Astonishment reached my hearing by news papers and threw my heart into the Whirlpool of Anguish, Vizt., that having seized the Nawab Mijid ud Dowla you have confined him in your Army and taken possession of his property and effects. Health to you My Friend! I was forwarding the Negotiation, (attending the Nawab Governor Bahader on your part) in three ways. 1st. that the Nawab Amcer ul Omra is persevering in the Service and views of the Presence and constant in Attention to the Duties of Service and Submission. 2nd. that he is in every respect firm and faithful in compliance to his treaties and engagements. 3rd. that Worshipping and acquainted with friendship he is desirous of Connection with the English Gentlemen and the Nawab Vizier ; Now from the Day that this News has been heard I have not seen I would chuse but be Silent on your Affairs and In truth from the Occurrence of this Conduct which is foreign to the Duties of Friendship and the attention to connection, there has remained no room for Words or power of Speaking. My Friend in the first place View the Consideration of Justice, that should you thus impose disgrace (and publish it to the World), on such an undoubted household Slave, and Loyal Servt. of the Splendid Presence whose firm wisdom, and reflection, and knowledge, is bruited throughout the World and whom his Majesty, in bounteous Language denominated the Ferzend Saadutmund (the fortunate Son). Where remains then Submission and Service to the Sublime Presence ; On this Subject if any one were to assert a thousand times, or write or cause be written, that this happened by reason of his Majesty's wishes, or conformably to the royal Commands,⁵ never never would it gain Credit here. Secondly, when Nawab Mijid ud Dowla having entered into such friendly engagements with You and you also with him and you having Called him your Kibleh, and Mecca, and your Protector, and three months not having yet expired Since a Treaty

was concluded on the holy Koran,⁶ and you having not considered these Circumstances Such Misconduct appears where remains then fidelity to treaties and Engagements. Thirdly it is near a year Since what Nawab Mejid ud Dowla performed in friendship and Union towards you,⁷ and endeavored heartily in the Strengthening your foundations, and obtained from the English Gentlemen to fix the regulations of affection towards you, has become public to great and Small, and the Letters on this Subject are in my possession, and if you do Justice you Cannot forget it, How then notwithstanding these Circumstances, has this irregular Affair intruded on the Cultivation of Friendship ? and Since Nawab Mejid ul Dowla during 12 years held firm the Chain of Sincerity and Affection with the English Gentlemen, and from a long period was honored and exalted with the Neabut⁸ of Nawab Vizier and was Celebrated and famous throughout the World, such Ill treatment having been shewn without a fault from so dignified an Omra, how can friendship and Unanimity with the English Gentlemen and Service and Submission to the Nawab Vizier be acknowledged ? Besides, what room was then for fear or Doubt of the said Nawab: Since by the favor of God you are Master of the Kingdom and Commander of the Army: Medjid ud Dowla is helpless and powerless, that he gain nothing by his Rank and dignity, except the honor of attending on his Majesty ; in Turning out such an helpless person I can see nothing to be gained besides drawing an Ill name on yourself. My Friend ! The Case is this, that from the Day of my Arrival here I had thrown foundations, that might occasion the Settlement of the Empire, and ripening of your Affairs, but from this Conduct occuring a Contrary Appearance is Assumed, and the whole affair is become embroiled, and no room for Negotiation remains to me : however Sincerely I be your friend and well wisher, yet by reason of your want of Attention to the service of the Sublime Presence and your deviation from the pleasure of the Nawab Governor I am helpless. As a favoring Signature⁹ from the Majesty of the Prince and Letters of Nawab Vizier and Nawab Amaud ud Dowla on this subject will reach you. It becomes you, that aiming at the remedy of the Past, you so Act and endeavor as may produce the removal of foulness and insipidities, and I may be able to negotiate and Speak. Further you may Chuse.

Verses "Communicate to Embassadors and it is enough."

The delay which has appeared in writing merely arose from the Expectation of a Letter that you would write something on the Subject. Since as yet it has not been so, I have written. I hope that you will write a proper answer on these Matters which would remove Expectation.

No. 83

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Bird dated Lucnow June 20th, 1784.

Since I wrote you my last I have received your Letters of the 12th and 14 Inst. I wait for answers to mine of the 10th and its Enclosures,

before I reply to the Business part of them and their predecessors, thus far I will now say that the Letters and Concessions of Afrasiab Khan supported by the True Character of him which I have constantly dwelt upon in my Conversations with Mr. Hastings have so far had their Effect that I think every thing will still go right if Afrasiab Khan acts with Consistency and Sincerity, but if he commits any Acts of Violence on Mujid ul Dowlah or talks in a blustering strain, he will find out his Weakness when it will be too late. If nothing Intervenes on Afrasiab Khan's Side to prevent it I believe I shall soon return with power to conclude the Treaty, but on certain Conditions in Alteration and addition of some of the former ones ; The grand points of "our Friendship and his own Security" will be confirmed to Afrasiab Khan. All this you may tell him from me.

Lucnow,
June 20, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 84

Extract.

TO W. H. Bird Esqr.

Dear Bird,

Since I wrote you the 20th Inst. I have received your Letters of the 15-17 and 19. In mine of the 20th I promised an answer to the Business part of your Letter up to the 14th but that is now needless excepting one point, I mean the promise made by Afrasiab Khan to give a Jaghier, House &c. to Mujid ul Dowlah in Consideration of the Recommendation of the Governor and the Vizier : you may assure him that this promise has given much satisfaction and that I made the utmost use of it to impress Mr. Hastings with a favorable Opinion of Afrasiab Khan's Character ; his keeping his promise either before or after my arrival will establish his good name in this Quarter ; his breaking or evading it will convince the World that he is unworthy of their favorable Opinion at the same Time you may assure him that the Release of Mujid ul Dowlah is not a part of the Conditions of the Treaty¹ which I have in Charge ; but do not tell him this without he appears very anxious upon that subject. To have made it an article would have convinced the Dehly Sardars who suppose others as void of all principle as themselves that some improper use was designed to be made of him.

You will be so good also as to remind Afrasiab Khan of his promise through you that the Shah should return to the palace² so soon as the Business of the Treaty should have a favorable Aspect ; I have it now in Charge to conclude it upon such Terms as he cannot reasonably Object to :

let him therefore fulfill his promise.

Camp at Mohaum,
June 28th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 85

TO Major James Browne Minister at the Court of Shahjehanabad.

Sir,

For your better Comprehension of the following Instructions and the Mode in which it will be proper to accommodate them to the present state of our own affairs, and to the different Interests which it will be your Study to conciliate in the Event of them, I think it proper to premise their leading Objects which are these Vizt.

First to effect the Return of the Prince on such a footing as shall assure to him his personal attendance on the King with the Means of Safety both for the King and himself.

Secondly to obtain the like Security for the Nabob Afrasiab Cawn against any attempts which may be made to deprive him of his present Offices, Command or Personal safety : and Thirdly, to accomplish these Ends, that the Engagement concluded for the purpose of them may not involve the Company in Hostility with any of the permanent States¹ of Hindostan or Deccan ; or in Expençe whether present or eventual.

First therefore you will endeavour to obtain for the Prince Mirza Jevan Buckt with his Father full pardon for his late Departure from the Presence, the Grant of a Rissala and an adequate assignment of Land in Jaghier, consisting of such Mahls as shall be contiguous to each other and shall be at least equal in Revenue to those which were before granted to him,² and a fortified post connected with the same that these shall not be resumed on any pretence whatever : The Fortress of Deig³ to be preferably demanded for the last mentioned purpose, and his Claim there to urged as the alternative for his forbearance of the Right which he Constitutionally possesses to the Subadaree of Akbarabad.⁴

Secondly that the Prince shall be attended to the presence by an Escort of the Company's Forces which shall remain with him during six months from the Time of his arrival at Shahjehanabad, or during such shorter period as the Board shall allow for their Dismission.

Thirdly—that for these Concessions you do endeavour to obtain both the assent and Command of the King and the Agreement of the Nabob Afrasiab Cawn.

Fourthly that the prince himself may be made a party of this Engagement so far as may be consistent with the Form of Respect and the Usages prescribed in Cases which concern the Acts of princes of the

Royal Line in Transactions with the Servts. of the King ; by a Solemn Assurance made by him in writing to the Nabob Afrasiab Cawn that he will protect and support the Nabob Afrasiab Cawn in his possession of his present Offices, Command and Territorial Assignments.

Fifthly that the Confirmation of the Nabob Vizier, after the Observance of the Kings Pleasure, shall rest entirely with the Nabob Vizier ul Mumalik that is to say if the King shall consent that Mujeed ul Dowla shall resign his Office or be removed from it and that another shall be appointed to the Office it shall not be conferred on any but by the Nomination of the Nabob Vizier with the King's approval.

Sixthly that the Nabob Vizier shall appoint a Guard of Sepoys for the Presence with a Commander in Chief, in the same manner as Litaufut Aly Cawn was appointed for the like Service by the late Nabob Shuja O'Dowlah.⁵

Seventhly—that if the King shall at any Time require a Body of Forces for his Defence agt. I [against] any foreign Enemy or intestine Danger and the Nabob Afrasiab Cawn shall require the same in writing addressed to the Nabob Vizier, notifying the same in case of urgent necessity to the Commander in Chief of the Forces now stationed at Cawn-pore for the protection of the Nabob Viziers Dominions, such a Force as the Necessity of the Service shall require, and the other Exigencies of the Nabob Vizier's Affairs and our's shall admit, shall be immediately furnished on the Nabob's Requisition transmitted in the Customary Form to the Commander in Chief of the said Forces by the said Officer, and instantly detached to such place as the King shall appoint and shall act solely under the Direction of the Nabob Afrasiab Khan ; and that for every Regiment of Sepoys Artillery included the sum of 25000 Rupees equal to the present Currency of Shahjehanabad⁶ shall be assigned by good and sufficient security for their monthly Pay and Expence from the Day of their passing the Jumna to their Return to the Duab, and one month beyond.

Eighthly that the said force shall not be employed on any plea or pretence whatever against the Mahraja Mahdajee Scindia nor directly or indirectly to the Injury of his possessions or Interests, nor shall the Royal Army or any part of it invade or enter the Territories of the said Maharaja, but if on any Ground of Dispute, Hostilities should be commenced between the Royal Forces and the said Mahdajee Scindea or any other Chief of the Maratta State, early notice be given of the same to the Officer Commanding the Forces which may be in attendance on the prince or employed in actual service with Afrasiab Cawn, and their Dismission immediately granted, that they may withdraw themselves from the Contention and that the Treaties subsisting between the English Company and the Chiefs of the Maratta State may be preserved from Violation.

Lastly that for the Satisfaction of all parties the Nabob Vizier and the English Company shall be the Guarantees for the faithful performance of such Articles of the proposed Treaty as shall not immediately regard themselves.

It is scarcely necessary to apprise you that in mentioning the Concessions which I am willing to yield, I do not mean that you should propose them, but leave what concerns that part of the Negotiation to be proposed by Afrasiab Cawn.

With Respect to the seventh article I consider it simply as a point of Credit in the Estimation of Afrasiab Cawn, and not of Substantial Effect since it is scarce possible that he should in his present distressed Condition assign the required Fund or Security for the payment of the Subsidy stipulated for any Military Force which may be lent to him ; and if he should ever be in a Condition to pay his own Troops, he will not have occasion for the Aid of ours—yet if you can elude it—do. If he persists in demanding it, comply.

In the Interval of your Journey events may, and probably will occur which may render it Expedient to vary your Instructions ; But these will remain essentially the same, and as you are more fully informed of my general Views from Conversation than you could be by written Detail, you may easily accommodate any such alteration to your present Instructions.

Lucnow,
27 June, 1784.

I am Sir,
Your affect. Friend,
Signed. Warren Hastings

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 86

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I am just arrived at this place, the dryness of the season having enabled me to march 73 Coss in 9 marches.

I have received a Shoka from his Majesty and a Letter from Afrasiab Khan both expressive of the highest satisfaction at my return and great Impatience to see me. If his Majesty continues his March to Agra, which he now seems very earnest in doing, he will be there as soon as I can that is by the 13th or at farthest 14th Inst.

The War commenced between the Joypore Rajah and Mahommed Beg Khan Hamdany has a very serious Aspect. The Rajah cannot concede without losing the affections of all the Rajhpoots who consider this as a holy War ; on the other Side Mahomed Beg cannot suffer the Masacre of Shah beg and his party to pass unrevenged without Danger of the Mutiny of all his Moguls and the loss of his Character with them for ever. Afrasiab Khan is desirous of getting both parties to consent to a Compromise but nothing is yet agreed upon, in the mean Time the two Armies are approaching to each other and a general action is expected.

I have not yet received from his Excellency the Vizier his Arzee for

the presence nor his Letter for Afrasiab Khan on the subject of my present Commission, neither has any thing been sent by him in the way of Peishkush ; all which Hyder Beg Khan promised should overtake me before I reached Cawnpore.¹ Permit me to request that you will speak to him that the two papers at least may reach me before I see his Majesty.

I flatter myself dear Sir that the Letter from Scindia to Afrasiab Khan has by this time been despatched. Kotel Khan is still I perceive at the Durbar as the reputed agent of Scindia. I wish you would insist on his being publickly disowned by Scindia which will discourage such practices in future. I am &c.,

Camp Etawa,
July 8, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 87

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I arrived here this morning and have since received a Shoka from his Majesty¹ directing me to meet him at Muttra² to which place he is marching. I at the same Time received a Letter from Afrasiab Khan to the same Effect and telling me that his future Motions shall be regulated by my advice after my arrival.

Rajah Himut Behadre who was on his March from Ferozabad to join the Nawaub halted upon hearing of my approach in Order to have an Interview with me. I saw him yesterday Six Coss from hence, he expressed great anxiety to know the Cause of your displeasure with him—this afforded me an Opportunity of telling him (under that description) all that I knew of his Tricks ; he was a great deal surprised at the discovery of some of them, and complained much of Scindias Duplicity in discovering what was said and written with his approbation : In conclusion he asked me how he should act to recover your good Opinion and the Viziers. I told him the best way would be to adopt a Conduct exactly opposite to what he had hitherto pursued ; this he declared he was ready to do and desired I would let him know anything which you or the Vizier are desirous of effecting in this Quarter and that he will labour day and night to effect it , and expressed a strong desire to pay his Respects to you at Lucnow in Order to Vindicate his own Character, and to solicit your Interest to get some Establishment for him with the Vizier. As I knew the Man I answered him with great Caution ; but at last I consented to write to you in such Terms as should obtain an Answer to his Letter (which I this Day enclose to Capt'n. Scott) but at the same Time I told him I was sure you would not be reconciled to him entirely till you should hear from me some Instance of his

having fulfilled his professions of Sincerity. As he is a man of much Art and plausibility, and among those Chiefs can do a good Deal to forward or Impede any Negotiation, I think it is worth while to secure him on our Side, when it may be done by a few fair Words : allow me therefore to recommend that he be answered immediately to this Effect—"that you have received his Letter and whenever you shall learn from Major Browne that his Conduct evinces the Sincerity of his professions you will be glad to see him and to shew him your Countenance and Friendship". The same answer must be written by the Vizier, to obtain which the more expeditiously I have forwarded the Letter for his Excellency also thro Captn. Scott to whom I beg you will speak on the subject. With perfect Respect I am &c.,

Agra,
July 14, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 88

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

Among the Letters transmitted by Captn. Scott the 11 Inst. is one from you and another from the Vizier both for Afrasiab Khan ; desiring he will second the Shah Zadas application to have his Family sent down to him—permit me dear sir to observe that an application of this Kind preceeding the proposals with which I am charged must have a Tendency to excite suspicion of the Shahzadas sincerity both in his Majesty and in Afrasiab Khan who will conclude that he cannot mean to return to the Presence upon the acceptance of his Offers, otherwise he would not express so much earnestness to has [*sic*] his Family sent to him. It is superfluous for me to remark on the ill Effect of suspicion on any Negotiation especially one as delicate as the present one is which must be founded on the Confidence which the different parties have in each other, since no Arguments can be drawn from Precedents, It is sufficient to say that I have ventured to detain those two Letters till I shall receive your particular Orders to forward them for the Reasons above assigned ; if the Negotiation succeeds, the Shahzada will come up himself, and his Family of course need not go down, or if he should delay his return to the presence, still after the Conclusion of the Agreement with the Amir ul Omrah on the stipulated Terms, the sending the Shah Zadas Family to him may be proposed without exciting any Suspicion on the other Side and on these Conditions, allow me dear Sir, to recommend that this proposal be suppressed till the Negotiation is finished.

Muttra is the place fixed on by his Majesty for giving me Audience on the Subject of my Commission, as he does no Business of Consequence on the March. At Muttra he proposes to halt some Time and to determine on his future Motions ; he is nearly the same distance from it on one Side as I am on the other, but the different Rates at which we march will make it necessary to stay here a Day or two longer, and then I shall be at Muttra some Time before his Majesty's arrival. With perfect Respect I am &c.,

Agra,
July 17, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 89

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I arrived here this Morning and about Noon was advised of his Majestys having come to his Tents about four Coss from hence after a most unusual March of 9 Coss there having been no Water at the place where he intended stopping. I shall not I imagine see him till the 26th in the Morning. I received your answer on the Subject of Himut Behadre yesterday; Captn. Scott says what is perfectly just, that you see no purpose that it can answer to be amused by the Gusseen this I will not presume to dispute but I believe my dear Sir, my proposal was calculated to amuse, and not to be amused by him, and this, solely to prevent the ill Effects of his Intrigues in delaying and obstructing the Business which as I know you have it at heart, I am most anxious to see accomplished, and I now say this to account more fully to you for the proposal I made respecting a man whom you know the very bad opinion I have of.

Afrasiab Khan two days ago sent Mujid ul Dowlah to Mursan¹ a Fort he has in the Doab, but with promise to send for him again in fifteen or twenty Days; this evidently arises from his having been persuaded to think that I am charged to demand his release. I shall therefore be particularly attentive not even to mention his Name during the present negociation unless I receive your Orders to that Effect. With perfect Respect I am &c.,

Muttra,
July 24th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 90

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I did myself the honor to address you the 24th Instant advising you of my having arrived at Muttra. The 26 in the Morning, Afrasiab Khan came from the Camp at Bindrabund to visit me; and that Evening I marched to the Camp myself.

This afternoon I paid my Respects to his Majesty and presented him with the Letter of the Shahzada, yourself and the Vizier as also the Nezzors sent for the Khelats: I had previously ordered Rajah Akbal Aly Khan¹ to be present at the Darbar the Day I should be there, and as soon as his Majesty had read the Letters I first presented to him, I delivered your Pardon for the Rajah into his Majesty's Hand, and requested him to give it to Achal Aly Khan since it was solely owing to your respect for his Majesty that it had been granted. The Shah appeared very well pleased and enquired very particularly after your Health and the Nawaub Vizier's but said not a Word respecting his Son. On my Dismission I received the same Khelat as on my being first presented to his Majesty at Dehly.

Nothing has yet passed in the Way of Business nor indeed will till I have returned the Nawaubs Visit which I am desirous of doing this Evening.

I send to Capt. Scott for your Inspection the Copy of an Arzee which I had privately conveyed to his Majesty yesterday. The first part is designed to prevent his being startled at any Idea which may be offered him of the Shahzadas becoming independent of him. The second is in Consequence of Afrasiab Khans saying that he is very desirous of returning to Dehly but that the Shah is determined to go to Futtapore; and requesting me to unite with him in requesting his Majesty's return; as he can no longer afford to pay the Expence of his Marching Charge. Before I say anything on such a point I wish to have his Majesty's real Sentiments. The Wretchedness prevailing in this Army exceeds all description. It is said too that much disgust has been conceived by the Mogul Sardars who have carried on Correspondance with Hamdany and endeavoured to exasperate him against Afrasiab Khan by Stories of the latter's having written to the Raghpoos to fall upon Hamdany and that they may depend on his receiving no support. I have not yet however such consistent and connected Information as might lead me to give entire Credit to the Report.

I have ducly been honored by the receipt of your Letter of the 19th Instant and shall pay entire Obedience to your Injunctions respecting Hymat Behadre by informing him that neither you nor the Vizier chose to give him any answer because you have proofs of his Evil Disposition towards the Interests of both, but not any of the Change of principles which he pretends to. As to forbidding his Visits, it will be unnecessary, since none ever pass between us, except on a first meeting as happened the other

Day on the Road to Agra. I shall however tell Afrasiab Khan that it is your particular desire that the Gussein never be permitted to be present at any Conference on Business as you are well convinced of his incendiary Disposition.

I have enquired particularly respecting the Letter and Arzee which you say Scindea has wrote to the Nabob and his Majesty advising them to accept of the proposals sent by you thro' me; but none of the Nabob's agents acknowledge their having seen any Letter or Arzee of such a Tendency, that may have been owing all to Himut Behadre's Tricks. Permit me therefore to request you will have the Goodness to send me a Copy of the Extract which Scindia has sent you; that I may be able to detect this Knavery &c.,

Camp at Binderabund,
July 27th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 91

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr. Governor General &c. &c.

Hon'ble Sir,

I have had the honor to receive your Instructions of the 23d Instant to which I shall pay the strictest attention: I have already wrote to Mr. Js. Anderson¹ to give me the speediest Information respecting Mahajee Scindia's Sentiments on the several Articles of my former Instructions as well as to let me know whether Scindia will come to Agra that I may Expedite, or protract my Negotiation accordingly.

Allow me to request your specific Orders whether or not the Article of the fortified Place for Mirza Jehandar Shah is in any Case to be given up and what that Case is because I consider it as the point of all others most likely to meet with Opposition, both from Shah Allum and Afrasiab Khan, at the same Time that it is probable that the Shahzada may be no less tenacious to preserve it in Force than they may be to set it aside. I am &c.,

Camp at Muttra,
July 30th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott


No. 92

TO Major James Browne Minister at the Court of Shaw Jehanabad.

Sir,

Since your Departure from this Place Mahajee Scindea has written to me a Letter¹ informing me of his Intention of speedily proceeding to Agra to meet Shah Allum and his Minister Afrasiab Khan and he has voluntarily offered me his Mediation and services to prevail on his Majesty's Ministers to agree to such Conditions as may enable the Prince Juan Buckt to return to his Father's Court on a safe and honorable Footing—you know how much I have this Point at Heart, you know also that there are some Circumstances² peculiar to the present state and Disposition of our Government which prevent me from acting with that Efficacy which is necessary to secure success in the present Object of your Negociation and which render it more likely to be accomplished by the Interposition of a foreign Influence than by any means which I myself possess.

The intended Interview between the King and Mahajee Scindea will produce a considerable Change in the Circumstances under which you will have to Negotiate. Were we to persist in a literal adherence to the plan drawn out in your former Instructions it is to be apprehended that Afrasiab Khan, if he should not Relish the propositions that you have to state to him would immediately have recourse to Mahajee Scindia, and as that Chief seems very averse to our forming any Connection with the Court of Dehly he might possibly support and encourage Afrasiab Khan in refusing to comply with the Conditions prescribed to him by us and thus while we should fail in accomplishing the point desired, we might also give rise to a Connection between Afrasiab Khan and Mahajee Scindia, which if not absolutely formed on principles hostile to the English, might tend to weaken the Confidence and cordiality at present subsisting between us and the Maratta Government. On the other hand if we rely entirely on Mahajee Scindia to effect our present Object, there is, I think, great probability of Success, and if we should fail we shall at least secure the Continuance of his Friendship, which if I rightly understand his Character, will rather be strengthened than diminished by such an Event provided he be sensible that we have placed our sole reliance upon him and have no ways contributed by any separate act of our own to the failure of our common Object. From these Considerations I have resolved to accept of Mahajee Scindias Offer and have for that Reason directed Mr. Jas. Anderson to return to the Camp of Mahajee Scindia³ for the purposes of engaging his Co-operation in such parts of your Instructions⁴ as may be Indispensably necessary to accomplish the principal Object which is the princes optional return and of communicating to you the wish of Mahajee Sindia on such as may be either omitted, amended or qualified.



This will make little alteration in your Instructions for except that Clause "of the first proposition which respects the Claim of a fortified Post there is no part immediately connected with their Objects which the Prince would either consent to relinquish or which I would advise him to relinquish and even on that I know not what may be his determination. The only alteration made by the Conjunction of Mahajee Scindia is this, that he be allowed to take whatever part he may Choose in the Negotiation if he shall be personally present but not otherwise. That he may be if he pleases a party to it: That if he shall object to the conclusion of any Treaty either in whole or in part it be not concluded and that the Negotiation do stop and be suspended at any essential part to which he shall object, but that if he shall propose any Qualification of any essential part, or the Omission of any which you should deem to be of such a Nature as not to affect the Princes safe and optional return of wch. I leave you to be the Judge you may admit and finally that if an accomodation can not take place in the mode which I have prescribed, that you break off the Negotiation altogether, leaving the Prince to his present connection and protection."

But if Mahajee Scindia shall not repair to Agra according to the Intention which he has professed, and shall not be personally present at the place and Time of Negotiation you are in such Case to recur to the Letter of your original Instructions and make them your sole guide. The Time necessarily prescribed for my Residence in this part of India will not admit of delay in the progress of your Commission—it must be speedily concluded or I can take no part in it, and of course it must drop altogether. I would wish to limit it to this Month but this may be impossible. Therefore I can only express my general Wish, leaving it to you to accomplish it as you may be able.

Perhaps the sixth article may be unattainable in that Case it may be omitted and referred with the 5th to another and separate Negotiation, for neither are essential parts of this.

That you may understand the principle of these Instructions I will explain it in a few words. I demand nothing. The Prince has received the protection of the Nabob Vizier and myself—we have been solicited as Mediators to effect his return—we cannot compel it but are simply the Instruments of conveying the Terms on wch. he will consent to return. These are specified in your original Instructions. If Afrasiab Khan will agree to them and Mahajee Scindia shall not object to them you will notify our acquiescence, which we will ratify by becoming the Witnesses and Guarantees of the Engagement which may be concluded betwixt the Prince and Afrasiab Khan: but if such an accomodation cannot be effected we remain as we were the protectors of the Prince and shall continue such so long as he Chuses to retain our protection. We claim nothing, we merely grant. It is their part to ask and their Interest to solicit, as the Consequences of the Princes separation may be more dangerous to the Views of those who have an Interest in the continuance of the present System of Affairs at

Dehly hereafter than any Advantage which the Prince might take of the Concessions now demanded, were then to be yielded under our security for his future Behaviour.

"In the Event of the Treaty being suspended by Scindias Objections I shall reserve it to myself afterwards to consider whether I shall allow them so much weight as to break it off entirely or whether I shall resume it on other Grounds."

The principal Difficulty which I apprehend you will have to meet with in conducting the Negotiation will arise from the Discordant Views of the several parties concerned which may give Rise to an Infinity of Intrigues and perplexities. When Afrasiab Khan finds that the English and Scindea are joined in enforcing the same point he will naturally Try, as the only method of defeating their Endeavours to disunite them. He will endeavour to convince you of the Treachery of Mahajee Scindia who he will assure you is not sincere in requiring his acquiescence in the Condition you proposed to him, and he will declare that for his own part he will never acquiesce in them whilst Scindia is the Mediator, and as an Inducement for you to change your system, he will perhaps offer to agree seperately to all the Terms that you require. If such should be the Case I trust that your penetration and firmness will frustrate his Endeavours: "Whatever Mahajee Scindia's Objects may be with the Chiefs at Dehly they can scarcely be of sufficient magnitude to lead him into any Measures by which he would forfeit the solid advantages which he derives from his Friendship with our Government, and I think that the Expectations which I have formed of his Exertions on the present Occasion are well founded because he is sensible of the Importance he will acquire from being considered as the Means of accomplishing a point which necessarily engages the attention of every Court in Hindostan. And altho he has hitherto treated the princes Flight with apparent Indifference, he must be aware that his own Interests may ultimately be effected by his Residence here in the Event of his Father's Death."

Both you and Mr. Anderson are well acquainted with my anxious Wishes to Effect the Princes Return to Dehly in a way that without endangering the Tranquility of our Government may be safe, honorable and satisfactory to himself, and I am fully convinced that you will unite most cordially and Zealously in the Exertion of your utmost Endeavours to promote this Object. I should be happy to find that you can act with so much Confidence that your joint Efforts may appear the Result of one mind. The only Line that I think it necessary to mark out for your respective Duties, is that the Decision must rest with you and that Mr. Anderson must be the sole Channel of all Communications betwixt you and Mahajee Scindia.

For your further Information I furnish you with a Copy of my Instructions to Mr. Jas. Anderson, and I recommend that you both cordially and unreservedly communicate with each other and meet daily or as often as you can for that purpose while you remain in the same place

or Neighbourhood.

Lucnow,
23d July, 1784.

I am Sir,
Your most Obedient and humble Servant,
Signed. Warren Hastings

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 93

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl. &c. &c.

Honble Sir,

Herewith I have the honor to send you two Persian Papers—No. 1, is his Majesty's answer to the propositions respecting the App. No. 63. Shahzada, Mirza Jewan Buckt as well as those relating to the Nawaub Vizier, the whole constituting the first five articles of the sketch which I some Time ago laid before his Majesty, and forwarded a Copy to your address, at the same Time the 6, 7 and 8 articles of that sketch, the Shah has left to be discussed by Afrasiab Khan as the Basis of a Treaty of Friendship with him.

As his Majesty in this Paper Rejected the proposal of granting a Fort for the Reception of the Shahzadas Family and at the same Time desired to receive Money in place of Troops from the Vizier I do. 64. addressed him by the Arzee No. 2, observing that some security was absolutely necessary to induce Mirza Jewan Buckt to return and agreeable to your Instructions of the 8th Instt. urging his Majesty to assent to the Viziers Troops being stationed in the Presence or to point some other Expedient for the satisfaction of the Shahzada. His Majesty returned the Arzee with his Reply written in his own handwriting at the Top. Both these papers are Copies the Original being in my possession.

It remains to know whether Mirza Jewan Buckt will ultimately rest satisfied with this Security, if no better can be obtained by the Joint Efforts of Mahajee Scindia and myself, and on this point I beg to be honored by your Orders. I am with the greatest Respect &c.,

Camp Agra,
August 18, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 93

63. Copy of a Treaty¹ which was written between the English Gentlemen and Nawab Vizier ul momalik Bahader, with the Nawab Ashruff ud

Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader, and became adorned with the Signature² of his Sacred Majesty, written 16th Ramzan 1198 Hejeree, corresponding to 26th year of his Majesty's Reign, and to the 2d August 1784.

1st. That Nawab Saheb Afrasiab Khan do obtain from the splendid Presence, and deliver a perfect pardon of the Offences of the Prince Mahomed Juwan Bukt Bahader in leaving the Fort of Delhi without permission of the Presence, and having caused to be written a Sunnud of Russaleh³ and complete Jagheer, such as no greater may have ever been granted by the Sacred Signature to the Prince, do deliver it having obtained the royal Signature, On condition that the Mahals of the Jagheer be situated near and contiguous to each other, and that one of the Mahals of the said Jaghier be a fortified Fort,⁴ which may be fit for the Residence of his family, so that the Prince leaving his Dependencies there may attend with ease of Mind in Service and resignation to his Imperial Majesty, and that the said Sunnud be so worded and in such form that no manner of Controversy should possibly happen concerning it, and no breach whatsoever occur.

2nd. That after the receipt of the Sunnud of Ressaleh and Jaghier abovementioned, When the Prince may undertake to kiss the Threshold of the Presence, some Troops of the English Gentlemen, not exceeding one Regiment, do attend his Stirrup until he be in possession of the Mahals of the said Jagheer, and after the Prince's being duly put in possession of and invested with his Mahals the said Regiment do return.

3rd. That a Treaty between the Prince Mahomed Juwan Bukt Bahader and Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla be written, sealed with the Seals of both Parties, containing that "the Affairs which have been entrusted by the Splendid Presence to the Nawab Ameer ul Omra, as he is employed in conducting them and arranging the Important Affairs of the Empire which is choice-worthy, he do consider the said Prince as his Support and aid in every point and business, and the Prince also do not esteem the Nawab Afrasiab Khan aforesaid as adverse or differing from himself in any manner in the Conduct of the Affairs of the Empire, and that the English Gentlemen and Nawab Vizier ul momalik be Witnesses to these mutual Engagements, and if one of the Parties should deviate from his Engagement, that the Nawab Vizier ul momalik and the English Gentlemen by their Mediation cause adherence to the above Stipulation".

*(In his Majesty's Hand "Provided the Choice lay not with the Prince")

4th. That the Office of Naib to the Vizarut be at the Choice of the Nawab Vizier ul momalik on condition of the Approbation of the Splendid Presence, whomsoever he shall nominate with the approval of the Presence no other shall be invested therewith, instead and in Substitution of him.

†(In his Majesty's Hand Writing "provided the Choice lay not with the Prince").

*King's answer to the 4th Article.

†King's answer to the 5th Article.

5th. That a General with an Army on the part of Nawab Vizier ul momalik attend on the Presence for Service and Duty. In the same manner as Litafut Aali Khan attended on the Sublime Presence in the Time of the late Nawab Sujah ud Dowla Bahader.

6th. That whenever English Forces may be wanted at the Presence to remove Evils which may have occurred on any quarters or to extinguish the flames of Contention which may take place in the Empire, and the sacred Orders be issued to the Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader that the said Nawab should write in conformity to the royal Commands, to the Nawab Vizier Bahader, the Nawab Vizier ul momalik immediately do send whatever Troops may be then proper and conformable to the requisition from his Stations to the place which may be directed, and that the said Forces, whilst they continue on the business commanded, be under the Orders of Nawab Afrasiab Khan, and be Zealous in the Service and business of the Presence, and that the said Forces from the Day of their crossing the Jumna till their return to the Territories of the Nawab Viziers do receive from the royal Court month by month either ready money or Jaidad Assignments, provided they be eligible and easy of Collection and nearly due, at the rate of 25000 Rupees Sicca of the Currency of the Time for a Regiment with the Artillery and every Expence, and one month's sum for the travelling expenses of going and coming, the same rate and custom having been fixed from the Sircar of the Nawab Vizier.

7th. Whereas Stipulations and Engagements have formerly become fixed between the English Gentlemen and Madho Row Sindia Pateel, and the other Chiefs of the Dukhun⁵ that when English Forces shall be at the Presence by the royal Orders, nothing be commanded which may occasion a breach of former Treaties, or perplexity to their Affairs, and if (which God forbid) any manner of Disagreement arise between the Sirdars of Dukhun and the Nobles of the Presence, that bewareing of the Violation of the Treaty of the English, the sending of the Forces of the Presence only against the Chiefs of the Dukhun be determined on in the august Soul, and that in such circumstances the English Army be dismissed towards the Territories of the Nawab Vizier, so no Deviation or breach will happen of the Treaty and Stipulations of the Sirdars of the Dukhun and English Gentlemen, which have been formerly concluded.

8th. That an English Gentleman attend on the Sublime Presence, that the Chain of Correspondence and negotiation, which may be wished by the august Soul with the Nawab Vizier ul momalik and English Gentlemen, may be conducted thro' the said Gentleman.

Answer to the Articles⁶ proposed by Ferzund Amaud ud Dowla.

Concerning the Prince Mirza Juwan Bukt Bahader.

By reason of the representations of Ferzund Ameer

The Treaty between the Prince and the Ameerul Omra Bahader shall take

ul Omra We will pardon his Offences.

Whatever Jagheer and Pension has as yet been enjoyed distinctly by the Prince, in Lieu of that a Place which shall exceed the former Jagheer and Pension by near 10 or 20 Thousands Rupees, shall be given by the Nawab Ameer ul Omra for the Satisfaction of Amaud ud Dowla Governor.

place, according to our pleasure.

The Dependencies of the Princes from former times till now, were never separate from his Majesty that a Fort should be permitted for them, this can never be complied with.

When we favored the late Nawab Sujahud Dowla with the Khilaat of Vizarut, it was then settled, that the removal or nomination of the Naib⁷ of the Vizarut should rest with us, accordingly as yet it has been so. Now we have granted the Naibut of the Vizarut to Ferzund Ashruff ud Dowla Bahader, do you also send the Khelaat of Naibut. At present considerable Forces are at the Presence, In lieu of Tuncaws for Forces send ready money monthly for the Expences of the Presence.

64. Copy of an Arzee¹ from Major Browne to the royal Presence on the Subject of the Prince with the royal Signature to it.

"The Commencement of the royal Signature". I will procure Security from the Ameer ul Omra. Let him take 4 Companies of Guards with him and come with ease of mind to the Presence.

May it please your Majesty.

From the paper under your royal Signature which had been delivered to Sullah ud Deen Mahomed Khan I learnt that the matter of a Fort which had been required for the residence of the Prince's Dependents was not approved by the presence. As obedience in the noble Concerns is incumbent upon and necessary in your Servants, but as it is for the Satisfaction and Security of the Prince's Heart, in case I should delay this Business how can the Ease and support of his Royal Highness's mind be effected. I therefore hope from your favor and Kindness that the last matter mentioned in the paper may be received into approbation or that such orders may be given that a cause of Ease of Mind to the Prince may be found therein.

No. 94

TO the hon'ble Warren Hastings Esq., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Honble Sir,

I had the honor to address you the 18th Instant covering his Majesty's decision on the points of your Instructions which respect himself since which I have been employed in adjusting the Draught of the Engagement

between the Shahzada and the Nawaub Afrasiab Khan, and that between the Latter, the English Company and the Nawaub Vizier. I have now the pleasure to enclose them all. They are approved of by the Parties here and I hope will be so by the Shahzada, yourself and his Excellency the Vizier.

No. 1, 2 and 3 are the draughts of the Treaties, No. 4 is an account of the Jaghiers and Revenues actually possessed by Mirza App. No. 65. Jewan Buckt amounting to *Rupees 49,800*. No. 5 is an " " 66. account of the Districts laid claim to by the Shahzada's " " 67. Vakeel on his Masters part but which he is said not to have " " 68. received possession of—both these papers were given by the Mutaseddies of the Khalsa.

On No. 1 I have only to remark that the Shahzada is made to call Afrasiab Khan the Viziers Naib¹ amongst his other Titles, this I did not admit without informing Afrasiab Khan that it rested with the Vizier to approve or disapprove it. On the No. 2 I shall beg leave to observe that Afrasiab Khan agrees to give the Shahzada a District with a Lac of Rupees² in place of His present Revenue of *Rs. 49,800*, this he calls an Encrease of *50,200 Rupees* given to manifest his friendship for the English and the Vizier who have been the Mediators. As the Shahzada has never given me any Instructions respecting the amount to be negociated for, I had no grounds on which to oppose the Nawaubs Positive assertions supported by the Khalsa papers. I took care however to remark to him that the acceptance or rejection of this provision rested with the Shahzada. No. 3 is so very conformable to the Letter of my Instructions that it scarcely requires a Comment—on my objecting to the 3d Article³ the possible case of another of the Royal Family at any Time claiming the protection of the English and the Vizier; the Nabob replied that the Article had no relation to the Royal Family and solely referred to his own Relations and Connections. The Nabob has made an alteration in the Article Respecting the receiving the Aid of the Companys Troops, he referred to a separte paper for the Rate to be paid per Regt. of Sepoys instead of inserting it in the Body of the Treaty. This being a matter of no importance but rather advantageous to the speedy Conclusion of this Agreement by separating it from what may require some further Time to discuss, I consented to it readily.

You will please to observe a very imprudent addition⁴ made by his Excellency to the 5th Article⁵: to avoid offending the Marattas he has clearly allowed his own imbecility by stating a case where the other Sardars of his Army may commit Hostilities and he not be able to prevent them. However as the Article states everything required by my Instructions respecting the Mahratta State I made no Objections to the addition which merely concerned the Nawaub.

The Papers No. 4 and 5 require no remark as they Explain themselves.

The obstacles to the Conclusion of this Business are now so few that I am willing to hope that it will be completed without your being at all detained by it: but for this End it is requisite that Scindia either arrive

very soon at this place or send his Opinion by Letter. By Mr. Anderson's last Letter dated the 18th Instant, I find that Scindia has not only put off his March which was fixed for the 19th but that it is a Matter of Doubt when he will March, or whether when he does he will advance further than the River Chumbull. As Mr. Anderson has some Time since advised you of these Circumstances I am in hourly Expectation of receiving your Orders in Consequence. If you resolve not to wait any longer for Scindia the Business is at an End, and No. 1 and 3 if approved may be returned signed and sealed, in which Case their Counterparts will be immediately Dispatched from hence ratified in the same Manner. I am with the highest respect &c.,

Camp near Agra,
August 24th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 94

65. Copy of a Draft of a Treaty¹ on the Part of the Prince Mirza Jewan Buckt Bahader for Nawab Ameer ul Omrah Ashraff ud Dowla Afrasiab Cawn Bahader. Written 1st Showal² 1198 Hijree.

As the Offices of Ameer ul Omra and Buckshee³ and the direction of the royal Affairs, have by his sacred Majesty been conferred upon the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Ashraff ud Dowla Afrasiab Khan Bahader, I who am Desirous in every Matter to assist and Succur the royal Servants and Nobles, by Gods grace, in every Affair which shall be known to contribute to the splendor and regulation of the Imperial Concerns, in every point assisting and aiding the said Nawab Ameer ul Omra, will not neglect the smallest minutia of his Advice and recommendation, and I will neither act nor advise so as may occasion Disturbance and perplexity to the Affairs of the said Nawab.

God and God's prophet are Witnesses hereof.

Copy of a Treaty on the part of the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader between the Prince Mirza Mohummod Jewan Buckt Bahader. Written 1st Shawal 1198 Hijree.

As by reason of the request of the Nawab Vizier ul Momalic and the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor General Mr. Hastings orders have been issued from the sacred Presence that some Mehals under a Sunnud of the Presence be settled by way of Jaghire or the Prince Mirza Mohammed Jewan Buckt, since obedience to the orders of sacred Majesty and the performance of the Duties of good Service and Submission to his Highness are incumbent and binding upon the Servant of the sky exalted throne, therefore it is fixed that by God's grace in Delivering the said Mehals into the

possession of his Highness, I will make no default or procrastination, and will not neglect the smallest point in the performance of duty and obedience to the said Prince, and in the Conduct of the Affairs of the Empire, the Direction of which is entrusted to my Choice, knowing his Highness to be in every respect my support and succour I will not Indeed swerve from the Advice and recommendation of the Prince, and when his sacred Majesty shall go to the Army no other Prince shall be appointed to the Command of the royal camp besides his Highness the Heir apparent. As it is his Highness's wish that at the time of Kissing the royal throne some troops of the English Gentlemen should attend him to put him in possession of the Mehals of the Jagheer in consideration of the service and duty sincerely fixed towards his Highness it is in every respect agreed to by me and in this Subject and in the Matters above written, God and God's prophet and the holy Imaams are Witnesses that Deviation or Evasion shall never take place.

66. Copy of a Draft¹ of a Treaty under the Seal of the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor General Hastings Bahader Jelladut Jung and the Nawab Vizier ul momalik Bahader.

As between the English Company and the Nawab Vizier ul momalik on one Part and the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Ashruf ud Dowla on the other part, Connections of Agreement and Unanimity have taken place, We therefore by solemn Treaty and Agreement declare according to the Undermentioned Articles.

Article 1st

In Concert with each other, we will be intent on promoting the Glory and Regulation of the Empire, which must be for the Ease and tranquility of Mankind, and during our Lives and from Generation to Generation, being as one Soul and three Bodies we will perform our Duty to his sacred and most high Majesty. The Friends and Enemies of one Party shall be the Friends and Enemies of the other. Each Party shall confine himself to the possession of his own Frontiers, and neither Party shall enter the Boundaries of the other. The Parties shall not quarrel with each other and if it shall happen that they do, the offenders shall be punished.

Article 2d

Neither Party will assist or join any of the Relations or Chiefs of the other, contrary to his Wish. We will not Countenance or give them admission within our Borders.

Article 3d

Whenever English Troops may be wanted to expel invaders from any

Quarter or to quell disturbances that may arise in the royal Dominions, and the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Afrasiab Khan Bahadur with the information of the Presence shall require them, the Nawab Ameer ul Omra will write to the Nawab Vizier who will according to his request immediately send them from the Brigade stationed with him. The Detachment shall, while it remains, obey the Orders of the Nawab Ashruf ud Dowla and be active in Service and Duty. From the day the Detachment crosses the Jumna till its return to the Territories of the Nawab Vizier it shall be paid agreeable to a Statement for each Battalion with its Artillery and all expences, also one month for going and coming, by the Ameer ul Omra monthly, in ready money or Tunkaws speedy of Collection.

Article the 4th

As between the English Company, the Nawab Vizier ul momalik Bahader, and the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader, and Madho Row Sindia, and the other Dekkan Chiefs, Friendship and Treaty has been concluded, if (God forbid) while English Troops may agreeable to the Orders of the Presence be with the Ameer ul Omra, any disagreement shall occur between the Ministers of the Presence and Dekkan Chiefs, the English Troops employed in the Service of the Presence shall receive their Dismission and return to the Territories of the Nawab Vizier. The Nawab Ameer ul Omra shall take no Part in such Disturbance.

Article 5th

An English Gentleman shall remain with the Presence, that through him his Majesty's Correspondence with the Nawab Vizier ul momalik and the English Chiefs may be carried on by means of the Ameer ul Omra. The Gentleman for this Business shall be agreeable to the Choice of all Parties. A person worthy of Confidence from hence shall reside at Calcutta. The Gentleman commanding the English Detachment shall not interfere in Affairs of Government without the Consent of the Nawab Ameer ul Omra, nor shall he carry on Correspondence that may occasion Confusion in Affairs with the Rajas or Talookdars to the Boundaries undermentioned; Puttealeh on the West; Jeypore, Jodepore, Caroli and Bhudawer on the South, Sarunpore and Hurdowar on the North and Feerozeabad on the East. To this Treaty and agreement God and His Prophet, the holy koran, Mourtiz Ali, the holy Imaums, and sacred Abbas Ali are Guarantees on the Part of the Nawab Vizier ul momalik, and on the Part of the English Company the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, and the new Testament are Witnesses, that there shall be no deviation from any of the above written Articles, and if (God forbid) either of the four Parties shall differ from the Treaty, we will persuade him by remonstrance and cause him to abide by the above written Treaty. We will not introduce the smallest deviation.

67. List of the Shazadas Jaghiers in actual Possession.

68. do. of those he claims.

The originals sent to W. Hastings and no Copies kept.

James Browne

No. 95

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca.

Honble Sir,

I have been honored by receipt of your Commands of the 23d Instant.

You are pleased to say "you cannot receive the paper signed by his Majesty as his, because it is repugnant to sentiments declared by him to the Shahzada and yourself in writings of unquestionable Authority". To this I beg Leave to reply that altho' I know his Majesty had some Time ago sentiments different from those he expresses in that Paper, and thought favorably of Mirza Jewan Buckt from a Belief that he was coming up with an English Army and a sum of Money for his Majesty's use, yet am I also of Opinion that his Sentiments are now¹ Conformable to the paper he sent thro' me to you, and this Opinion I entertain, first because it is agreeable to what I have heard from his Majesty's own Mouth and what has been conveyed to me from him by others, and secondly because when I transmitted a sketch of these very Articles to his Majesty thro a private and confidential Channel, he refused to sign the first 3 and to the 4th and 5th (containing the Viziers proposal to nominate his own Naib and to have a Body of his Troops in the Presence) he superscribed "on Condition that the Shahzada have no Authority in it", this was exactly conformable to the Sentiments he now Expresses and arises from his being unwilling to have any Independent Power in the Shahzada's hands or any Power that may indirectly strengthen his own Ministers, tho he would have been happy to see him used as an Instrument of bringing up an English Army to Dehly which he thought would then have acted for his Majesty's Service and not been subject to the Shahzada's Authority for any bad purposes, on the footing which he now perceives the Shahzada is coming, he considers it as a probable Event that he will unite in Interest with Afrasiab Khan to keep his Father in Vassalage and consequently wishes to see him as little powerful as possible.

You are further pleased to observe "that you will not consider the King as uttering his own Sentiments unless when he shall speak to me in private and without the Knowledge of any other". To this I beg leave to observe that such Conferences are never in use at this Court and if they were, such Communications could only be esteemed in the same light² as those which you say before have been made both to the Prince and yourself

and of which I also have had the honor to convey many both by Letter and personally during 18 months past. If our Government will support and serve his Majesty against the power of his Ministers, they may make the Shahzadas Terms what they please but if they mean (as my Instructions plainly say) to support the present System of Government at Dehly, his Majesty will certainly adjust his Conduct to his Circumstances and not make his powerful Servants his Enemies by an unavailing Declaration of his wishes to be free from their Dominion, nor indirectly strengthen them by giving power to the Shahzada who will be closely connected with them.

Upon the whole you have now in your Possession his Majesty's sentiments as expressed both publicly and privately and it consequently is entirely in your Option which you please to adopt.

As you say you will revert to the Terms of the Original Instructions, I shall wait the arrival of Mahajee Scindea before I propose them.

I have the honor to be &ca.,

Camp near Agra,
August 29th 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
[H. Abbott]

No. 96

TO Major James Browne, Minister at the Court of Shahjehanabad.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 18th with its Enclosures. That which is entitled an answer under the King's hand to my proposals is so consonant to the Conduct and Language of Afrasiab Khan and so repugnant to the Sentiments which the King has declared both to the Prince and to myself in Writings of unquestionable Authority that I cannot receive it as his; neither shall I consider the King as uttering his real sentiments except in which he shall say or deliver to you in private and without the Knowledge of any other.

I revert to the Terms of my Original Instructions to which if the King will grant his assent allowing the Mediation of Mahajee Scindia, as prescribed in my subsequent Instructions, I will make known to the Prince His Majesty's pleasure, and I know he will gladly conform to it: Nay he has declared to me that he would be satisfied with a Force merely sufficient to protect him against Insults or Treachery without any other Condition; for his life is wretched while he passes it in Exile from his Father's Presence and cut off from the Society of his Family.

Whatever Papers of a similar kind with that which you have sent me or Messages from the King thro any Channel but his immediate

Communication with yourself [which] you will receive with Respect but decline to treat upon them, or give them a moments Discussion.

I shall now wait to hear of Scindia's arrival, and Proceedings to which I refer you. If by his Intervention I can obtain fortunate Termination of this perplexed Business it is well. If not, distressing as the Burthen will be to me, I must be content to bear it and conduct the Prince to the Borders of the Companys Dominions in Expectation of a better Time. The Disappointment will be favorable to him. I only shall be the sufferer by it.

Lucnow,
23d Augt., 1784.

I am Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Signed. Warren Hastings

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 97

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Honble Sir,

The enclosed is the Copy of a Letter which I have just received from the Rana of Gohud who [lately] escaped out of App. No. 69. the [hands] of Scindia's Guards and is now at Karawly [with a pur]port to solicit permission to throw him[self upon] the protection of the English Government [though I] imagine his request will be refused yet [as I had] no positive Orders about the [Prince, I was] fearful to preclude any Views that [the adminis]tration may have, by an absolute [refusal] upon my own authority. I have [done] myself the honor to forward his letter upon which I request to receive your [orders] and at the same time I have informed [the Ranah] that it is not in my power to [give him] decisive Answer till I hear from [you. I have] positively enjoined him not [to attempt] throwing himself upon the English [Government] till he shall receive your pub [?] to do so. [I trust this] Method of acting will meet [with your] approbation and am with great Respect,

18 September, 1784.

Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedt. Humble servant,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 97

69. Copy of a Letter of Ranna Chatter Sing of Gohed which was answered on the 2nd Zehedge¹ of the Year 1198.

Before this the News of my escape from Gohed and of the Enemy's Army were written for your Information, I trust that they will have reached the noble perusal; it is known that whatever of the thread of connection on my part with the Noble Company is fixed and confirmed, has illuminated the hearing of the world : there is no need of explanation. Now I view no other refuge and azylum besides the Company, and have arrived as far as Kroli² under every Circumstance that occurred, and to advance further Seems more difficult. As you are favorable to me from the Attractions of your heart, my reaching thither may assure an appearance : should you informing the Nawab Aftekhar ud Dowla Bahadur Feeroze Jung get 1500 of his horse sent hither to conduct me; and you Should also send me one Letter from yourself and one from the said Nawab addressed to Rajah Manuk paul Chief of Kroli, that giving his corps of horse and foot as a convoy he should forward a certain person to you; but let this matter be concluded soon, for I am Delayed here in expectation of such an event, that my arrival in your parts may take place from your Doing so: for I perceive the renewal of my Affairs and prosperity in being near you who are the representative of the Company, and in every respect my hopes in all my affairs Depend on your kind favors, In so much that a speedy performance of these Counsels is fit and proper.

No. 98

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I have been honored by receipt of your Letter¹ of the 13th Instant to which I will reply in the Order of the several paragraphs.

[App.] No. 70 Par. 1st. I read over several Times and with the greatest attention the paper sent by the Shahzada as containing his Observations made to him by Afrasiab Khan: as the Style and Idiom are perfectly clear and easy I consider them within the Compass of my complete Comprehension and I am sorry to say I do not find in them that positive and defined exposition of his Royal Highness's Wish which I could have wished for in a paper which is to become the Basis of all future Negotiation, and which has cancelled and superseded all the Orders and Instructions which I have hitherto received from you for my Guidance in the Negotiation for the Shahzadas return to his Fathers Presence. I must beg leave to point out what appears to me the Defects in this Paper assuring you at the same Time that I shall not presume on that account to delay or suspend my Endeavours to make it answer your purpose in its

present stage, all I request is that if any of the Conclusions which I may draw from the Shahzada's remarks should appear to you essentially erroneous that you will condescend to set me right, and if on the other hand the Defects which I may point out in them should in your Opinion be real you will persuade his Royal Highness to remedy them.

The Shahzada's Remarks consist of several Articles the first four of which refer to the Draught of Afrasiab Khan's Engagements with him, and the latter three to that of his Engagement with Afrasiab Khan.

The first Article Expresses the Shahzada's Expectation that the Jaghire to be granted shall be equal in Value to all the Districts mentioned in both the Furds of *Amby* and *Gheeramby* which accompanied the Draught of Afrasiab Khans Engagements with him. The 2d Article contains nothing but a profession that he believes another Profession of Afrasiab Kn. The 3d Article first declines the Offers of accompanying the Army in his Majesty's absence, then professes implicit Obedience to his Father's will then says if he be found qualified he will do every thing *without the Patronage or Mediation of Aliens* (by which I imagine he means Afrasiab Khan) but that if he is *not* qualified he will attend his Father's presence in such a manner as the Governor General and the Nawaub Vizier shall determine, and finally expresses his Wish that 3 other Shahzadas² may be sent with the Armies which he thinks will be for the Benefit of the State ; the support of the Omrahs and the Respectation [*sic*] of the Shahzadas.

I beg leave to observe that I cannot perceive anything determinate to be drawn from the desultory remarks contained in this Article, but the general Tendency seems Calculated to excite Suspicions in Afrasiab Khans mind that his Royal Highness's coming to the Presence cannot be favorable to his Interest, and consequently to produce his Opposition to it.

In the 4th Article his Royal Highness declines the Escorte of 4 Companies of English Sepoys³ to attend him to the Presence ; this says that he will throw himself on his Fathers Protection thro the mediation of the Governor General and the Nabob Vizier and concludes by declaring *that if he comes* to the Presence it will be in a Manner that will qualify him to serve the Shah and assist Afrasiab Khan. I beg leave to observe that if instead of this indifferent mode of Expression (which must give rise to apprehensions in a weak and Timid Mind such as his Royal Highness knows Afrasiab Khan's to be) the Shahzada had declared four Companies of sepoys an insufficient Escorte and desired to have as many Battalions⁴ it would have been an Object for Negotiation though perhaps a difficult one as it is I see no end that this Article can answer except that which I have mentioned.

The 5th Article expresses his Royal Highness's readiness to *unite* with Afrasiab Khan for his Majestys Service, *after his arrival at the presence*, and supposing Afrasiab Khan to be satisfied as to the mode of his coming must be pleasing to him.

The 6th Article is also a satisfactory acquiescence in Afrasiab Khan's Proposition but I confess myself at a loss to discover his Royal Highness's

meaning when he says at the Latter End of this Article, "All these Affairs (the settlement of the Shahs Districts and the Correspondence with the Sardars Rajahs &ca) shall be settled, agreeable to the proposals of Afrasiab Khan, His Majesty's pleasure; and the *Communication of the Governor General and the Nabob Vizier*". I submit to your Judgement Hon'ble Sir how far such Communication is practicable, proper or likely to be acceptable to Afrasiab Khan or any other Minister of his Majesty. The 7th Article is very Comprehensive and declares "that his Royal Highness will enter into the required Engagement with Afrasiab Khan *when all his Demands* made thro the Governor General and the Vizier shall be agreed to without diminution" this of Course includes all the points of my first Instructions, but without any Alternative for the End of mutual accomodation. It confounds the Points which the Shah has taken upon himself with those which relate to Afrasiab Khan, and after his Majesty's written and verbal Declaration excludes I fear every immediate prospect of the Shahzada's quitting his present Situation except by Other means than Negotiation.

There is one Expression in this Article also which embarrasses me to understand and of which I hope his Royal Highness will honor me with an Explanation specifying the Conditions of his return he says "and you shall send me an Engagement agreeable to the Draught &ca." I wish to know what Draught his Royal Highness adverts to since he has just finished objecting to the only one I ever knew proposed between him and Afrasiab Khan.

Upon the whole Honorable Sir it appears to me that all these Articles are either ineffective or included in the last; and that the last puts the proposals of the Shahzada in the same form they bore when disapproved by his Majesty and Afrasiab Khan without any new inducement being proposed to incline either to accept of them; on the contrary the succeeding Paragraph of your Commands threatens the removal of the principal if not the only Temptation held out by my first Instructions to induce the Shah and his Ministers to listen to the Shahzada's Demands.

Par. 2d. I do not recollect any Letter wherein I had the honor to inform you that his Majesty had expressed himself averse to any Engagement made on our Part with Afrasiab Khan, on the Contrary I believe it would be very agreeable to him that the English Troops should be ready to come up to the Aid of his Ministers for the Time being under the restrictions which the Treaty would Impose Vizt., "that they should be called by his Majestys Orders and employed under European Officers for the support of the Ministers in executing his Majestys Service"—such aid he would consider as in fact given to himself, not liable to be perverted to his Injury, and an improvement upon his present Situation, tho' very inferior to the Hopes he had entertained from the Shahzada's Letters, of a Force being sent up to set him free from all restraint, and render him Master of his own actions. The Kind of strength which I adverted to in my Letter of the 29th August, as the Object of his Majesty's Apprehensions, was such a one as the Shahzada might raise upon Jaidads, or even the Troops of the Nabob

Vizier proposed to be stationed in the Presence (if under an Hindostan Sardar) since either might, he thinks, be perverted to purposes opposite to his Majestys Wishes and Interests, which he is persuaded that an English Force would not, sent up under the restrictions of the Treaty.

I shall obey your Injunctions by suspending any further Discussion on the subject of the Treaty with Afrasiab Khan, at least till I have further Orders from you : but at the same Time it is my Duty to inform you, that tho the External Forms of Respect towards the Shah are observed, the whole power of this State is in the Hands of the Military Minister, who of course will never consent to any Stipulations in Favor of the Shah Zada, unless he shall receive some Advantage to himself at the same Time. Afrasiab Khan has pointed out his Objects to be the English Alliance, and the Vizier's Neabut ; should another Minister succeed to his Offices during these Negotiations (as is very probable in the present civil Discord prevailing here) I do not believe his Demands would be lower. If it is your Wish that the Shahzada should return by pacific Negotiation, it must be effected by attending to the Ministers Demands at the same Time. If you desire to Negotiate for the Shahzada without Regard to the Views or Wishes of the Minister, I fear it will be of as little avail as to attempt establishing an alliance with the Rajah of Settara,⁵ without the Consent of the Paishwah. Force only can Effect it.

Par. 3d. I cannot presume to doubt what you affirm and Engage respecting the Shahzada, but how any means can be devised of securing him from Violence (except the sending up a large Force with him) I do not thoroughly comprehend. Words and Oaths his Royal Highness has seen too much of, ever [to] trust to them alone : as to Treachery, there is no security against that, but keeping far away from those who practice it.

Par. 4th. I shall be careful to convey the Distinction once more to his Majesty : it has been mentioned already; and on the Occasion of his Exclamation against Mirza Jewan Buckt to which you advert, I should not have failed to urge it, had it naturally arose as an answer to any thing said by his Majesty ; to have forced it abruptly would not have been consistant or respectful, nor consequently have met with your Approbation.

Par. 5th. I know by the Communications with which you have honored me that it is not in your power to grant his Majesty what he would insist on as the first step towards Executing such a plan as the total subversion of the present system of Government. could [the] prejudices be so far removed, as for him to consent to giving the Offices of State into the hands of his Sons, his first proposal would be, that a large force should immediately be sent up, to be paid *after the Contest should be decided*—here I presume every thing would End. As to any plan for the retrieval of his Majesty's Affairs, I have at different Times forwarded so many to you, that I believe among the Letters which I have had the honor to address you, and the papers I have conveyed to you from his Majesty, and the Nabob Mujid ud Dowlah, you will find authority for any thing you may choose to do *provided you send a Force sufficient to suppress all Opposition*. This is the great

Point ! without it all proposals are ineffectual waste of Time ; convinced of this, as you have not ordered me to make any overtures to his Majesty on the Subject, I shall certainly avoid it, till I have clear authority to promise him the instant *Presence* of a large Force of English Troops ; in which case, I shall most cheerfully propose any Plan that you may wish to see executed.

Par. 6th. The unfavorable state of Afrasiab Khan's affairs, and the probable issue of them, I have before had the honor to communicate to you ; but I trust hon'ble sir, you will allow that it is not very probable that the supreme Minister of any State, should resign his Office, and retire to a private Life, on the advice of a Foreign Resident at his Master's Court ; or that he would receive very complacently, such an Intimation of his own weakness, and instability.

Par. 7th. This Paragraph would very much accelerate the conclusion of the negociation, were it near that point from which I fear the Shahzada's answer has for a while removed it.

Par. 8th. It is a matter of the greatest concern to me, that you should suppose me inattentive to your Orders, or even intimations. In every relation between you hon'ble sir, and myself, it is no less my earnest wish, than it is my positive Duty, to pay the strictest attention, and unreserved Obedience to what I know to be your will : at the same Time I am persuaded it is not your Intention to abridge all Exercise of my Judgement and discretion, as to the most practicable means of attaining such Objects as you may be desirous of, while I refrain from Engagements of any kind, which might embarrass the Negociation. I confess myself Ignorant of the Instances in which I have been inattentive to your pleasure, at the same Time I shall not urge you to specify them, as you have not thought proper to do it yourself.

I will conclude this address (which I have been compelled by the Extent of the Subject to make so exceeding Long) by observing, that as the proposals of the Shahzada will probably be rejected in their present Form, and his Royal Highness will consequently be left under the protection of the English, two things will then become Objects for Consideration. 1st. to reconcile his Majesty to the Measure—and 2dly to prevail on him if possible, to send ye. whole or a part of the Shahzada's Family to him, these points I beg leave to submit to your early Consideration that I may be instructed accordingly. With the highest Respect.

Agra,
Sept. 21, 1784.

I am Honble Sir,
Your most obedt. Hum. Sert.
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 98

70. Commands of the Prince to the Nawab Governor Amaud ud Dowla Bahader on the Subject of the Treaty with Ameer ul Omra and the Subject of his own Jagheer and other Articles.

My noble Brother

Of the Papers of the Treaty and the Sheets of the Jagheers which you delivered to me for perusal the particulars are that the Draft of his own Treaty which the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader has determined to give to me in writing is as follows—

1st. First he has written that he will grant 20,000 Rupees per annum in addition to the former Jagheers and Allowance. I had taken to my own Sircar from the royal Presence the Pergunna of Rohuttuk which in this year produced a Revenue of 3 Lacks and it was under my possession. Mirza Wully Beg Khan resided some months on my part in the said Pergunna, and after the said Khan Mahomed Ally Khan Son of Khaja Rehmud Ulla deceased resided there. Sief ud Dowla Nejif Cooly Khan Bahader thro' my bounty to him got to himself possession in the said Pergunna, and until the day of my coming he every day promised to release the said Mahals: if I had been in that place he would before this time have released it. Ameer ul Omra has written it among the places not possessed by me; and the Pergunna of Suckhanna,¹ if the whole Country of the Rajepoots had remained in the possession of the Nawab Zoolficar ud Dowla deceased, I should have had also possession of the said Pergunna—as the said Bahader had made an Accommodation² with them, conformably to the Receipts from this accommodation my Mahal also had been compromised; Accordingly I had taken from Zoolficar ud Dowla the money of half of the Compromise. Molvy Atta Ulla Khan³ is thoroughly acquainted with it. This also he has declared not possessed by me. It is certain that he will grant 20000 Rupees; I am altogether desirous of it. Certainly the Ameer ul Omra Bahader will perform such Service that it will give Reputation to me and to the Ameer ul Omra Bahader and also he will release these Jagheers in possession which he has declared out of possession and it is certain that he will not be negligent in releasing the other places of which the Sunnud has been procured from the Khalsa. I am entirely at Ease in Mind on this Point.

2nd. Secondly he has written that he knows his own Happiness to be in performing Service and Allegiance to the Prince, but that as the administration of the Affairs of Royalty has thro' favor to Slaves been bestowed completely and entirely upon him from the Royal Presence he wishes the Prince to be assisting and supporting him on all Occasions. Certainly in this there is no doubt I am satisfied in my Mind.

3rd. Thirdly he has written⁴ that at the time when his Majesty may go to the royal Residence of Delhi, at the time of necessity I will request of

the Presence for his royal Highness and procure him Dismission for the Settlement of Concerns, and I will be ready in Obedience to Orders in attendance upon the Prince's Stirrup. I do not by any means agree to it. I know the Allegiance to the Presence to be alone above all Concerns : if I shall be worthy of Business I will do everything without the Intervention of others, and in the Way which my noble Brothers Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader Jelladut Jung and Vizier ul momalik Bahader will settle at the Presence for my Residence, in the same Way I will remain ready in Allegiance, and in whatever Business orders may be issued I will act in that manner. Further it is my Desire that three other Princes fit for Affairs may reside at the Presence. Accordingly my beloved Brother Mirza Solyman Shiko Bahader is with Ameer ul Omra : it is proper that my beloved Brother Mirza Mahomed Akber Shah should be fixed with Seif ud Dowlah on whatever quarter it may be advisable, that both the Splendor of the Throne and the prosperity of the noble Grandees and also the reputation of the Princes who have proceeded from time immemorial may come to light.

4th. Fourthly he has written that as it is the Prince's Inclination that at the time of his coming to kiss his Majesty's Threshhold a small Body of Troops of the English Gentlemen may be with him for putting him in possession and Authority of the Jagheer, conformably to the Orders of the Presence he may bring four Companies of Sepoys. My Inclination is not for even one man, what room is there for four Companies ? I have thro' my noble Brothers Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader and Vizier ul momalik Bahader deposited my Life and Honor at the Feet of his Majesty. If I should be in attendance I will so be in attendance that I may be both worthy of service to the Presence and also worthy of Assistance and Support to Ameer ul Omra, and from the writing of Ameer ul Omra also this Desire is learnt, because if two Hearts should be one they will break a Mountain and destroy a numerous Army.

5th. In the Draft of the Treaty which he has determined upon for me to write he has written that as from the splendid Presence the offices of the Ameer ul Omra and Bukshee and Naib to the Vizarut and the Authority of all the Concerns of Royalty and the Affairs of the Country have been granted and bestowed to the Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader Sabut Jung, I have it fixed in my Heart to support and assist the Nawab Ashruff ud Dowla Afrasiab Khan Ameer ul Omra Bahader in all Occasions. This has added light to my Eyes ; may the Almighty raise him to still higher Dignity. As he requests Support and Assistance from me, by the blessing of God and the favors of the King and the Aid of my noble Brothers Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader and Vizier ul momalik being become worthy to support and assist I shall be honored by going to the Presence, and we will in the sight of his Majesty become by firm Engagements one Heart and even one Soul in two Bodies, and to the end of our Lives we will remain aiding and assisting each other for the Splendor of the exalted Throne and the Ease of Mankind. On this point

God is Witness.

6th. And he has written that in every Concern which may be for the Splendor of the exalted Throne and the management of the Affairs of the Country I will support and assist in every manner conformably to the Requests of the said Nawab Ameer ul Omra Bahader and will not omit one Article of the Advice and Recommendation of the said Ameer ul Omra Ashruff ud Dowla Bahader ; and any Business and Plan which may be Cause of Dispute and full of Injury to the said Nawab's Concerns shall not be executed by me ; and of the Arzies which may come from all Sides and Quarters I will write the Answers with the Advice and Recommendation of the said Nawab. Certainly I agree to these Matters. By the Blessing of God all these Matters shall be executed conformably to the request of Ameer ul Omra Bahader and the Will of his Majesty and the knowledge of my noble Brothers Vizier ul momalik Bahader and Nawab Governor Bahader.

7th. He has written that in these Concerns the Vizier ul momalik Bahader and the Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader Jelladut Jung are Guarantees, God and the Prophet of God and the holy Book and the 4 noble Friends and the oath of his Majesty's Head are brought into the midst that as long as we live there shall never be deviation and alteration. When Ameer ul Omra Bahader shall without omission approve of these Matters which he the said Bahader will learn from the Writings of me and my noble Brothers the Governor Bahader and Vizier ul momalik Bahader and will give Satisfaction and Ease of Mind, and having written will send a Treaty conformable to the Draft, and will send a royal Shooka of his Majesty on the Subject of writing the Treaty, certainly I also will write and transmit a Treaty, and if Ashruff ud Dowla Ameer ul Omra will remain stedfast to his Engagements during his whole Life, I also will to the End of my Life remain stedfast.

No. 99

TO Major James Browne

Sir,

I have received your several Letters to their last Date being the 6th Instant. The Prince having maturely examined and deliberated on the propositions made to him by Afrasiab Khan, has as the most certain mode of conveying his Sentiments upon them delivered me the enclosed paper containing his Observations, and Commands upon each Article which he has directed to be transmitted to you that you may deliver them to the Nabob as his Reply.

As you inform me that the King is averse to any Engagement made on our Part with the Nabob Afrasiab Cawn, I desire that you will suspend

all further Conferences with Afrasiab Cawn on that Subject and confine yourself strictly to the Conditions now required by the Prince. To these I am no otherwise a party than by the Guarantee offered for their Observance by the Nabob Vizier and myself.

I will venture to attest and to affirm on the behalf of the Prince Jehandar Shah that so far is it from his desire to possess either personal Authority or Military power independent of his Father, that if any means can be devised by which his Person shall be secured against Violence or Treachery from the Kings Ministers or others, he will cheerfully and promptly submit to any injunction which the King himself may lay on him and even throw himself unarmed and unattended at his Feet, if his Majesty shall require that proof of his Fidelity.

It is not against the King that he wishes to be guarded, but against the common Enemies of the King and of himself, I must request that you will contrive some way of conveying this Explanation to the King to whom I regret that you did not of yourself offer it in answer to his Objections.

It is not in my Power as you will [well] know to afford the King any effectual Assistance of our Government in the mode which he requires. If instead of proclaiming his Sons to be his natural Enemies he will consent to give them severally the Commands and Offices which have been usurped by Alien and venal Men and rely on their natural support for the safety of his Person, and the maintenance of his Dignity, I will readily enter into the Consideration of any Plan which he may propose for so good a Purpose, and as far as my actual power extends I will instantly engage with him in the Execution of it, leaving the Rest to a more favorable season : but if he will not assent to this I am remediless.

The Prince will doubtless remain under protection of our Government until he can be allowed to return with safety and Honor, nor can it be expected that I should withdraw it from him, while it is limited by the mere Duties of Hospitality, Respect, and the Defence of his Person.

From every recent Circumstance of the State of Afrasiab Khan's Interests I apprehend he could not adopt a Wiser Plan than to yield his pretensions altogether, on security given that no Injury shall be offered to his person or Effects, and allowed an Income in Revenue for Life. By aiming at greater Powers or even the continuance of those which he yet feebly holds he may lose all he has and his Life with it. Use this Intimation if you think it will avail.

I withdraw the additional Instructions which I gave you respecting the Intervention of Mahdagee Scindea as I find that he has returned to Gwalier.¹ At least I desire you to consider them as suspended until I shall have Grounds to revert to them.

That I may not be misunderstood, for indeed I must complain that you read my Letters, and even my original Orders with too much inattention, I will sum up all that I have essentially written for your Guidance in this Letter in a few Words. I have in Effect withdrawn and cancelled all my former Instructions, and all the Orders grounded on them, and given

for your present authority the Prince's Demands in the enclosed paper.

Lucnow,
13th Septemr^r., 1784.

I am Sir,
Your most obedient servt.,
Signed. Warren Hastings

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 100

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

His Majesty not having held any public Durbar during the sickness of Afrasiab Khan, I waited a considerable Time in hopes that his Recovery would enable me to deliver in Person your Arzee with the Explanation of your Letter to me dispatched from the Sye Nulla but as I found the Nawaubs sickness more tedious than I expected, I yesterday sent the Arzee from yourself and the Nabob Vizier together with a Translation of your Letter to me by Solaud-dien Khan to lay them before his Majesty. The Shah did not come out till the afternoon, when after reading the Arzees and

Translation he entered into a Conversation with Salaud-dien App. No. 71.

Khan which on the Latters relating to me I thought proper to commit to paper and now transmit for your Information—at the same Time I beg leave to premise that I do not transmit it as a paper of which you should take any public Notice to his Majesty nor do I mean to do so myself because I am convinced that he would have expressed himself in Terms of much greater Consideration to me had I been present, but the essential purport would have been the same.

There are several strong Reasons which lead me to convey this Conversation to you at full length and which I will beg your attention to before you read the recital of the Conversation itself.

The first reason is because as there was no person present for whom his Majesty had any Consideration, or before whom he could feel the least restraint, I consider the Sentiments expressed in this Conversation to be truly and entirely his own and this Belief is confirmed by the Disregard with which he speaks of his Ministers, and the unreserved Mention which he makes of his Invitation of yourself and the Nabob Vizier to the Presence thro Mujid ul Dowlah which he again repeats. See No. 1,2,3 and 4 of the Persian Papers, add to this that the whole Conversation bears the genuine Marks of Disappt. exasperated almost to despair on finding that the English and the Nabob Vizier have neither given him any immediate assistance nor complied with his proposals for his Son's return, nor even indirectly assisted him by entering into the Engagements which he proposed for the support of his Ministers by the occasional presence of the English Troops.

The 2d reason is because it contains the strongest proofs of his extreme Indignation and the suspicions which he entertains from our protecting his Son, these are evidently founded of the Shahzada's right of immediate succession as the eldest Son—See No. 5,6,7 of the Persian Papers.

The 3d Reason is because it contains a proof of what I asserted in my last address of the 21st Viz.—That his Majesty is desirous of the English Government connecting itself with his Ministers for the Time being under the Restrictions of the proposed Treaty. See No. 8, of the Persian Papers.

The 4th Reason is because it contains a Confirmation of what I also asserted in my last Letter Vizt. that if you send a Sufficient Force to the Presence first, his Majesty will execute every plan you may desire—See No. 9 and 10 of the Persian Paper[s].

Upon the whole this paper appears to merit your serious Consideration at this Juncture to which permit me to recommend it.

Agra,
Sept. 23d, 1784.

I am &ca.,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 100

71. Commands and Conversation of the Splendid Presence, Concerning the Bengal Money and the Prince, with Selah Ud Din Khan.

Having Shewn to the Presence the Arzies of Nawab Vizier ul Momalic and of the Governor, and a translation of the Letter addressed to Nawab Mayeen ud Dowla, his Majesty perused them and turning towards me Said, "the affairs of Mirza Jewan bukt Bahadur have met with Delay ; It was my Secret wish to have removed from hence, and that Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings and the Nawab Vizier ul Momalic Assoph ud Dowla should have both come from those parts, and attending on the Presence have performed their Duties, and shewing Service have acted in a Manner becoming their Name ; as we have denominated Amaud ud Dowla Son, he Should perform the Duties of a Son to a Father : the Drafts of the Royal Shokahs which were formerly Sent on this 'Subject thro' the Channel of Mujid ud Dowla must still be some where, they are wonderfully faithful to Service ; I am well acquainted with the English, and the English know me well, formerly 4 Crore of Rupees¹ used to come from Bengal in the time of a former Monarch, and in the time of His late Majesty² 52 lacs of rupees were promised thro' Ghazi ud Din Khan and were paid. I happened to reside eight years³ in the Eastern Countries and Some time at Allahabad;⁴ the English well knowing my fortunes to be hopeless, engaged for 26 Lac of Rupees⁵ and gave me writings swearing to their engagements by Jesus and Mary. In conclusion nothing took place. I was astonished for in all the

Kingdoms the English are famed for truth to their words, wherefore have they acted with me contrary to their promises ? and they gave a Writing⁶ that "it was Sworn by Jesus and Mary not to fail in Sending 26 Lac of Rupees altho his Majesty the Azylum of the world should be in Kabul or Kandahar" I know not whether this Oath is gone, if they shall recollect and be just how great will the Sum be to this time ; "Those present said it would amount to 5 or 6 Crore of Rupees, His Majesty said "one year's money⁷ was received at the Time of going to Shah Jehanabad,⁸ where are the other Sums ?" After that he said, "in the business of Mirza Jewan buckt whatever is in my power I have committed to writing ; If you Expect more my whole Kingdom is in your Possession, from the aggregate giving to Mirza Jewan Buckt Korah and Allahabad, or 26 Lac of rupees in money you might have Sent him to the Presence, it is known you do not mean to send him to the presence. This is an Affair of the throne and Canopy : you are on one Side, and Ameer ul Omra too on the other, and the Contention is between a father and Son ; I understand you now wish to make the prince go to war with me. If the Ameer ul Omra taking with him a prince should come forth to War, and you also on other side vain would be the Blood and Slaughter : where is the Necessity ? I am Such as the English know me well. But now the Dispositions of the Nobles of the Presence are become opposed, and further I am deserted. I had written that I had called you Son ; If you Should depart without arranging the Affairs of the Presence it will not be for your advantage ; you have come for your own affairs and not thought of any Service to the Presence and no hopes remain to me. I will myself now look to the consideration of my own affairs. Several times I have written that you should contract a hearty friendship with Ameer ul Amra, that he may be at rest ; this likewise you have not done. Justice will be on the Side of Ameer ul Omra in his Suspicions, in as much as you have no friendship for me and you produce the Negotiation for the Jaghir and pension of the Prince ; and besides I have great suspicions in my thoughts, and am not Satisfied in my heart, I know not what you have in your Mind. If you wanted the Pardon of the Prince's offences, attending with the Prince and Vizier you would have obtained it, and with the Vizier ul Momalic having informed yourself of the State of Affairs here, whatever you proposed and represented would have been complied with : what matter did Mejud ul Dowla neglect in correspondence, but you performed nothing of what was written : what can be done, for now the Servants are Selfish, and otherwise I am the Same Shah Aalum. And from mutual deceit there remains no Confidence in correspondence. What can I write, there remains not room for writing ; otherwise one Shoka would be sufficient on each Affair ; and those people have thrown aside confidence in Correspondence ; it is no loss to me, they Injure themselves. If you had consideration for Service and confidence in my Correspondence, it would be proper for you and the People here ; and whatever of the Correspondence of the presence arrives to your address, in every matter you want the Correspondence of Council. Well I know that

no prohibition has been Written to you from Europe against Service to me. As I have perfectly understood that from the begining to the End it is the fault of my Welwishers ; with respect to what you say, that Korah and Allahabad became granted by the presence to the Marhattas and therefore you surrendered them to the Vizier,⁹ the State of the Case is thus ; when I departed from Allahabad for Shah Jehanabad General Barker¹⁰ wrote that I would grant Korah and Allahabad to the Marhattahs after my arrival at Shah Jehunabad. I replied whenever an order from me shall arrive, then you may believe it: take an Oath when did I write that order ; People gave a Sunnud to the Marhattas¹¹ with the Royal Seal which they had by them being pressed by the necessities of the Times; the Business of Korah Allahabad was delayed for this ; it is not Known why the Sum of 26 Lac of rupees has been delayed.¹² After the departure of Mayeen ud Dowla, whatever was to be communicated I commanded through Mejid ud Dowla, of these affairs which has Mayeen ud Dowla Settled ? if your heart attended to the Service of the Presence, you would send the Arrangement of the whole of the Matters. If Mr. Hastings wished, he could perform his services in any manner. I had written a prohibition that until the Conclusion of the Affairs it would be improper to leave Lucnow : in fine you have moved, and written many Apologies ; now you will moving from Benares go further ; and these Affairs also remain deferred. But God knows that I have called you Son with the fortunate tongue, and therefore I have given you this Information.

No. 101

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Honble Sir,

I had the pleasure to address you the 23d covering a Persian Paper of some Consequence which I hope will arrive safe.

The 19th Instant I advised you of the march of a Detachment under Mullek Mohamed Khan¹ against Mohamed Beg Khan Hamdany. They proceeded to Futtapore² 12 Coss Distant from this place, and displaced the Tannahs stationed there on the part of Hamdany, on advice of this Hamdany immediately marched towards them, but a violent and almost incessant fall of Rain from the 17th to the 26th Instant prevented a possibility of moving with Expedition, on the 26th however he had arrived within 6 Coss of Futtapore³ in Consequence of which the rest of Afrasiab Khans Army moved⁴ yesterday to support Mullek Mohamed Khan and Afrasiab Khan joined the Army this morning himself. If no Rain falls to prevent it they will join Mullik Mohamed Khan Tomorrow.

Ambajee⁵ with Scindias Troops to the No. of about 3,000⁶ goes with Afrasiab Khan but he previously shewed Scindias Orders to him to commit no Hostility against Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany ; and upon this Occasion it has come to Light that Scindia has some Time ago concluded a

Mahadji Sindia



Mahadji Sindia

Treaty with Hamdany,⁷ without the Knowledge of Afrasiab Khan with whom he had made a previous one.⁸ With the highest respect I am &ca.,

Agra,
28 Septemr., 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 102

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.,

Hon'ble Sir,

By the Dawk of this Day I have the pleasure to transmit the Shah's Shoka¹ to you in reply to your Arzee respecting the Shahzada's paper of Remarks, Afrasiab Khan's Letter² on the same Subject, and a Copy of his Majesty's Shoka to the Nabob Vizier, the Original of which I have sent to Major Palmer : Captn. Scott will lay them all before you.

As his Majesty's Shoka refers you to the Letter of Afrasiab Khan, little more need be said respecting it than to observe its conformity to all his Majestys' writings and Conversations for a considerable Time past on the point of urging the Shahzada's return and the entering into a Treaty of Friendship with his Ministers under the Sanction of his Name and Authority.

Afrasiab Khan's Letter requires some further Elucidation, it contains a promise to give up to the Shahzada the two Pergunnahs of Rhotuck and Singhana which by the Shahzada's Paper of Observations seem to be the grand Object of his Desires on the Article of Jaghires, and the former of which he himself has valued at 3 Lacs of Rup : This I should imagine must put an End to his Objections on the subject of Jaghires since the remaining places are so inconsiderable that nothing but a spirit of Litigation incompatible with the Shahzadas professed Candour and desire to return to his father could magnify them into an Object of Dispute, or a Basis for refusing to obey his Majesty's Commands ; on the part of Afrasiab Khan it is certainly a great sacrifice and a striking proof of his great earnestness to acquire the Friendship of the English Government as a proof of which I need only remark that excepting the Shah's own lands all this Country was divided by Nudjif Khan into Jaidads³ for his Troops and Jaghires to the Sardars. Rhotuck is now possessed by Nudjiff Kooly Khan a Chief too powerful for the Nawaub to break with ; of course he must satisfy him by an equivalent for Rhotuck and this Equivalent must be taken either from the Nawaub's own districts⁴ or from the Jaidads of the Troops or the Jaghires of the other Sardars, measures of a very unpopular Nature.

On the subject of an encrease of Troops for his Royal Highness's

security, His answer is less satisfactory, since he only has added two more to the original 4 Companies,⁵ but you will please to observe that he says he will consent to any other proposal after the conclusion of the Treaty of friendship with himself, and the Despatch of the Shahzada, and his verbal answer to this point was very natural and judicious for he observed "if I wish for the Friendship of the English this Escorte is a sufficient security, because I can not violate it either by Force or Treachery without incurring their Mortal Resentment. If on the other Hand I am regardless of their Friendship as well as my Oath, and Faith, four Battalions could not secure the Shahzada from the Effects of my Infidelity". To this he added his solemn assurance that the Shah shewed the greatest aversion to allow of any encrease either of Jaghire or Escorte. You will determine the Degree of Credit which you choose to give to Afrasiab Khan's assertion after reading the Translation of the Conversation between his Dewan Nairandaas and the Shah as reported by one of his Majesty's servants of Rank who was present during the Time it lasted. The Persian Paper containing it is transmitted to Captain Scott.

This is the present state of the Negociation. These points were proposed as the Condition for the Shahzadas Return.

1st. a Jaghire equal to those formerly given to him. This is granted with an omission only of some place too inconsiderable to be mentioned as a Foundation for rejecting the Shah's Offer, to which may be added that it makes the Shahzada's Jaidads out of all proportion greater than those of his Brothers, which was one of his Majesty's arguments against granting it.

The 2d. point proposed was a Fort, this his Majesty has preremtorily [*sic*] refused in a style and upon principles that will not allow of its being urged again.

The 3d. point proposed was an Escorte of English Sepoys. This is granted in as full an Extent as you expected for in your Memo. in explanation of that Article you are pleased to say you mean it as a mere Escorte, and that perhaps your own Body Guard⁶ may be sent.

I have been thus particular that you may judge of the principle of his Royal Highness's refusal of these Offers from his Father, should he refuse them, which I hope he will not. It is necessary to remind you that all this has been effected by the Nawaub's hope of an alliance with the English and will never be consented to seperately from that—if therefore his Royal Highness accepts these proposals the Treaty for the Nawaub, the Engagement from the Shahzada, and a draught of that to be given by Afrasiab Khan to him must be transmitted to me for Execution.

When Govt. were pleased to send a public Minister to this Court the avowed Object was to remove all unfriendly impressions and to secure to ourselves the Friendship of this Govt. by every means consistent with the State of the public Finances. This is now perfectly at our own disposal, and as it is the rule of reason and of Policy to encrease our

Friends and diminish our Enemies, there can be no Hesitation respecting the Choice.

If Circumstances do not admit of our assisting his Majesty by effectually interfering in his affairs, it certainly is an Object of importance to have at our Devotion that power which Commands his Government whether it be in the Hands of Afrasiab Khan, Nudjif Kooly Khan, Mahomed Beg Khan or any other Chief whom Fortune and the sword may raise to the Head of the administration every argument Deducible from vicinity of Territories which has often and ably been urged in favor of alliances with Hyder Ally Khan on the Coast, and with the Rajah of Berar⁷ in Bengal, applies with equal force to support an alliance with the Shah's Ministers and is at the same time free from most of the Objections to which they were liable: to which may be added that the weakness of this Government is too great to resist its external, or suppress its Domestic Enemies without support, or at least the Credit of alliances, and should it fall to pieces it will make room for the Seiks when we shall be compelled to fight, or to negotiate with a hundred different Chiefs for the safety of the Viziers Country. In further Recommendation of this Measure it will be remembered that it can be effected without the smallest expence to the Company—on the Contrary they will be gainers to the amount of the Expences of such Forces as may at any Time be detached for his Majesty's support. With the greatest respect I am &ca.,

Agra,
Sept. 30, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 103

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I have just had the pleasure to receive your Commands of the 27th Ulmo.¹ to which I shall pay precise Obedience.

Mr. James Anderson is of Opinion that Scindia will not pass the Chumbul² till he has seen Afrasiab Khan which may not be for some Time as the latter is engaged in Hostilities with Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany which may not be speedily terminated unless I am specially ordered, I shall not proceed to the Chumbul till the Amir ul Omrah does; since I have no business with Scindia Individually—indeed I do not know if I ought to go at all unless the Shah should, as he must be a party to any engagement, and my going under the Circumstances beforementioned, is merely to remove all causes for Obstruction to this Negotiation.

If you disapprove of my going you will do me the honor to let me

know it. With the greatest Respect I am &ca.,

Agra,
Octr. 2d, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 104

TO Major James Browne, Resident at the Court of Shaw Jehanabad

Sir,

Having reason to believe that Mahajee Scindia has now actually set out¹ from Gualior and a meeting will soon take place, I desire that you will in that Event, or on certain Information that he is on the way suspend all negociation with Afrasiab Khan regarding the Shahzadah, leaving it entirely to the Management of Mahajee Scindia.

Benares,
27th Septemr., 1784.

I am Sir,
Your most obedt. hum. sert.,
Signed. Warren Hastings

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 105

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor Genl. &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

Since I had the honor to address you on the 2d Instant, I have not received any further Commands nor have I been favored with any Information of the receipt of any of my Letters of a later Date than the 6th of September—lest any of [th]'em should have miscarried, I enclose a List of all the Letters which might have been acknowledged since that of Sept. 6th that if any should have been lost I may send Duplicates of them.

The Operations of Afrasiab Khan against Mohamed Beg Khan have been so very languid and ineffective that I have not thought it worth while to trouble you with a detail which might be found sufficiently well authenticated in the public Newspapers. Mahomed Beg is in a great measure Blockaded in his Camp by the Amir ul Omrah's army reinforced by Ambajee's party and several Detachments of Zemindary Troops from the Joypore and Machery Rajahs¹ who have been induced to this Instance of Loyalty by some personal Interests² that they wish to forward with Afrasiab Khan. Scindia writes constantly to both Parties to abstain from Hostilities till he

shall arrive, which each interprets in his own favor but in the mean Time he takes possession of Mahommed Begs Jaghier³ which lie in his way without the participation of Afrasiab Khan—as he has passed the Chumbul and is on his march to Join Afrasiab Khan his designs cannot remain secret many Days Longer ; at present they are quite a Mystery to people here and I learn from Mr. Anderson are equally so in Scindias Camp—in the meantime while the Minds of men are in a State of violent Agitation, and every one says what is most agreeable to his own wishes—I am sorry to say that few of these seem to be in favor of the English as you will perceive from the Enclosed paper of Intelligence from my agent with Afrasiab Khan who is an intelligent and steady man and not liable to lightly credit Idle reports.

It recites the general Tenor of the Discourse of that Durbar and shews the wishes of Rajah Hymut Behadre and others who have greatest weight there, and the use made of the Shahzada's remaining with us, without any agreement having been formed with Shah Allum or Afrasiab Khan, to exasperate if possible the latter to break with our Nation altogether.

The Design I have in sending this paper (which I entirely believe as far as it relates facts and Conversations) is that you may Judge how far it may be advisable to quit Benares while this Matter remains undecided or to remove the Shahzada, unless this way, and with a respectable force.

I hope the arrival of Scindia will remove all these Sinister Circumstances by convincing all parties that his Friendship and Sincerity to the English Nation is superior to the Intrigue of Himut Behadre and to all the suggestions of ambition, Vanity and avarice which I doubt not will be Worked upon to induce him to put himself at the head of all those who are dissatisfied with the proceedings of our Nation. If Scindias Conduct on this Occasion really evinces that he is truly and strictly united with us every power in this Quarter will silently submit to what the English and Marattas may please to dictate—As Scindias approach is so near—I wrote Mr. Anderson to inform him on my part that if he intends putting off his entering into the Shahzadas Business till he comes to the Presence I shall wait his Motions here but if he means to conduct that Negociation with Afrasiab Khan in Camp⁴ I will repair thither as soon as Mr. Anderson informs me that he is ready to commence it, receiving his Majesty's Resolutions on the Subject before I set out.

I have also declared to the Nawaub Afrasiab Khan the association of Scindia in this Business; and as the State of affairs is again brought to that point at which you supposed it when you drew up my Instructions of the 23d July I shall now consider them as the rule of my Conduct in this Negociation. I am with the greatest Respect &c.,

Agra,
October 19, 1784

Signed. James Browne

No. 106

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl. &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 19th Instant since which I have not had the Honor to hear from you.

Scindia and Afrasiab Khan met the 22d¹ but I believe no Business has yet been talked of between them.

As Cheyt Sing the former Rajah of Benares has crossed over the Chumbull with Scindia Mr. Anderson and myself have both considered it as the Occasion adverted to in your Letter of the 17th August "compelling us to divulge your Orders." Accordingly Mr. Anderson has declared to Scindia the Orders given to him and has received indirect assurances that Cheyt Sing shall not be introduced, but he has expressed an Apprehension that tho' Scindia may not propose Cheyt Sing's introduction either to his Majesty or Afrasiab Khan he may connive at its being done by others so far at least as not to prevent it and the Gusaine Himut Behadre has said a thousand Times at this Place that he will be answerable that Cheyt Sing shall be introduced to his Majesty.

Upon the Information of Mr. Anderson respecting his declaration to Scindia, I made the same communication to the Shah and his Minister Afrasiab Khan, to which both replied by saying that they should endeavour to avoid the Introduction of Cheyt Sing if it could be avoided without giving Offence to Scindia but that the English Government having in no one Circumstance shewn it's friendly Disposition either to his Majesty or his Minister, could not expect that they should sacrifice the Friendship of Scindia to the punctilio of the English. As this reply threw the Affair entirely upon Scindia and as he had advised Mr. Anderson that he would not apply for Cheyt Sings Introduction, the only effectual means of preventing its being done by the collusion which he expressed his Apprehension of, appeared to me to be the obtaining his Majestys assurance that he should not be received except upon the personal application of *Scindia* or *Afrasiab Khan*. My Arzee to this Effect was this mornning presented to his Majesty in public Durbar and is expressed in Terms calculated to give satisfaction to all Parties; His Majesty subscribed it in the Terms I desired but not without long hesitation and particularly enjoining me to write you Hon'ble Sir that "he rejected Cheyt Sing for your Satisfaction with a certain Conviction that he would have paid a large sum of Money to obtain that Distinction, and that on the other hand not the smallest mark of acknowledgement will ever appear from the English for this Instance of his friendly Disposition towards their Nation, any more than was manifested last year for his refusing the Offer made to him by Tippoo Sultan thro' Monsieur de Bussy of 12 Lacs of Rupees for the Sunnuds for the Subah of Arcot" (Of which I long ago had the Honor to advise you) "in return for which they not only reject his Offers respecting his Son but have

even avoided sending him a few Elephants or the Nuzzers when they themselves thought it proper that the Vizier should send, and which all the Sardars of Hindostan transmit except the English." I have sent a Copy of

App. No. 72 this Arzee and his Majesty's Duskhut to Mr. Anderson that he may shew it to Scindia and convince him how pointedly this Matter is fixed upon him, and his Majesty has sent a Copy to Afrasiab Khan. Captn. Scott will lay a Copy before you, and with it an Extract of Intelligence from the Quarters of Himut Behadre from a person of Credit and Character upon whom I have dependence : it will shew you the eager Inveteracy of that Fakeer against the English and the Vizier.

Scindia has advised me thro' Mr. Anderson that he shall defer entering on the Shahzada's Business till he sees his Majesty.

Agra,
Octr. 24, 1784.

I am &ca.,
Signed. James Browne,

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 106

72. Copy of an Arzie of Major Browne to the elevated Presence concerning Cheyt Sing of Benares, honored with the royal Signature

Substance of the royal writing.

We have denominated Amaud ud Dowla Son, and have consideration for his Satisfaction, as soon as the fortunate Son Ameer ul Omra Bahader may be present, this Affair will be understood, and except the personal representations of Maha Raja Dihraje Madho Row Sindia Bahader, the representations of no one will be received.

May it please your Majesty

At this time Madho Row Pateel Bahader has it in Contemplation to obtain the Happiness of kissing the Sacred Threshhold, it is rumoured among the people that he will also bring Cheyt Sing of Benares to the Splendid Presence, the coming of the said Cheyt Sing is entirely contrary to the Inclination of Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader, and since the said Bahader wears the Ring of Obedience and Slavery in the Ear of fidelity, your Servant trusts in his Heart that your Sacred pleasure will not by any means permit what would be adverse to your faithful Slaves. Whereas sincere friendship is very firmly established between Amaud ud Dowla Bahader and Pateel Bahader, and that no manner of Difference remains, Pateel Bahader likewise will never permit this Matter, of necessity it must be the Evil-minded Men, who brought the Vakeel of Cheyt Sing to the Splendid Presence contrary to the Inclination of his Majesty and of the Ameerul Omra Bahader during the time of Ambajee Bahader's attendance, that have published these unpleasant Affairs ; to remove these Doubts it is petitioned of the fortunate Attendants of the Heavenly Throne that my

Arzie be adorned with the royal Signature to this purport that in the Business of the Service of Cheyt Sing, except the personal representations of Madho Row Pateel Bahader and Ameer ul Omra the representations of no one will be received.

No. 107

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General

Hon'ble Sir,

I have been honored by receipt of your Letter of the 20th.¹ The Reasons which you think, might have at least diminished his Majesty's Disgust had they been urged I do assure you hon'ble Sir, have been urged repeatedly both in person and by written Representations, but as I have no satisfactory Marks of their Operation, I forbore troubling you with a detail of my daily Expedients. But with Respect to two Conversations which I had the honour to detail to you, as they were not held with me nor in my presence, but before people who tho' agents connected with the English Government, yet from their inferior Rank, could not be supposed to put his Majesty under that restraint as to his Expressions, which he has never failed shewing in his Conversations with me. It appeared to me most consistant with the Dignity of the Government which I have the honor to represent, that I should avoid manifesting any knowledge of the Terms of his Majesty's speeches, tho' I at the same Time thought proper that you should know them. I will however own hon'ble sir that I have been reserved and designedly obscure when compelled to use the first of the arguments which you have been pleased to specify since I have always thought that we should be backward to acknowledge at any of the Courts of Hindostan, the limited and Embarrassed State of Authority possessed by the Company's Delegates in India, Because however wise and Constitutional such limitation may be, it is unintelligible to the Intellect and irreconcilable to the prejudices of men brought up to either Despotism or Slavery ; who would have no Idea that a State unable to move it's armies or disburse its Treasure whenever it might please, could have the smallest Title to respect from its Neighbours. On the Subject of the Bengal Tribute indeed I have always been forward to declare the Incapacity of the Government in India to pay any part of it without Orders from Europe.

The enclosed Extract of my Letter to Mr. James Anderson No. 1 will shew you the line which appeared to me most eligible to observe in conducting this Business in which he concurs, as his Letters will inform you : on the same principle, and also to publish the True Cause of your sudden return to Bengal, I wrote an Arzee to the Shah, of which with his Majesty's Dustkhut I have the honor to send a Copy No. 2. The Dustkhut is a complete Invitation do. 74 to the Shahzada and an Injunction to him to come before Scindias Departure. Indeed before this I had succeeded in persuading

the Shah to reply in nearly the same Terms to an Arzee which Mirza Jewan Buckt had written, but on that Occasion as well as again when he superscribed the Arzee, the Shah said that he expected I would give him a written engagement under my own seal that the Troops which were to come up with Mirza Jewan Buckt should not be employed in any manner contrary to his Majesty's will and Interest Convinced as I am of the honor of those whom I represent, I did not hesitate a Moment to assure the Shah that I would not only most cheerfully give him the Engagement which he required, but if he desired I was ready to pledge my Life, by putting myself into his Hands as a Hostage for the Fidelity and integrity of the English and the Vizier as well as for the Duty and Obedience of Mirza Jewan Buckt. This assurance and the manner of making it has I believe at length removed the Shah's suspicions and Doubts respecting his Son. I have transmitted a Copy of the Arzee and Dustkhut to Mirza Jewan Buckt for his Information and Satisfaction. In my Letter of the 24th Instant I had the honor to advise you of the Steps which I had taken to prevent the Introduction of Cheyt Sing at this Court, since that I have received a Letter from Mr. James Anderson informing me that Sindia at length made an explicit Declaration that he will not propose his Introduction to his Majesty but at the same Time he desired a Concession on the part of Mr. Anderson that he would consent to Cheyt Sing's being presented to Afrasiab Khan previously to his setting out on a pilgrimage to Bindra-bund. Mr. Anderson will have apprised you of his having consented to this and of his reasons for doing so, all I have to say on the subject is, that as the Introduction has the sanction of being approved by one of your Representatives in this Quarter I consider that Circumstance as destroying the Operation of your Orders to me of the 17 August which were given on the Idea of this Introduction taking place in opposition to the Endeavours of both Mr. Anderson and myself.

The Conduct of Scindia since his arrival has been so misterious, and his Declarations to Afrasiab Khan and Mahamed Beg Khan so very irreconcilable in many Instances, that no Man pretends to Judge what the ultimate result of all this Duplicity will be. As Rajah Hymut Behadre is the Channel of all their Negotiations, I attend especially to his Motions and have placed two persons about him from whom I receive twice a Day an account of all his proceedings. The one is a Man in his Confidence but having Views to be forwarded at Lucnow of much greater Importance than his Connection with Rajah Hymut Behadre. I have secured his Services by a promise of your patronage in recommending his Business and by paying him a monthly stipend: He is a man of considerable property in the Viziers Dominions and of sufficient consideration to be personally present at most of their Consultations. The other is a Servant of mine (Compiler of the Seik History² which I had the Honor to send you) who was much in Rajah Hymut Behadre's Confidence when in the late Viziers Service to whom this man was then a news writer, and Rajah Hymut Behadre has often tampered with him to send him Intelligence of my proceedings

Having properly prepared and instructed this person I have discharged him on pretence of having discovered his correspondence with Rajah Hymut Behadre and he accordingly went to him. Rajah Hymut Behadre has made him great promises of preferment as he does to all who approach him, and there he remains for my use. I have entered into this Detail that you may judge of the Credit due to the Enclosed papers of Intelligence No. 3 which I beg leave to recommend to your perusal; they are called *Secret Intelligence*, and I shall always in future put that Title to the papers from that Quarter which I may send you, which will only contain the points on which both these writers agree.

His Majestys march to the Camp is at present fixed for the 7th of November.³ With the greatest Respect I am &ca.,

Agra,
Octr. 29, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 107

73. To Lieut. James Anderson

Dear Anderson,

I have been favored by Receipt of your Letter of the 24th. The Paper of Intelligence which I sent to you the 20th was not designed to establish a Belief of Hostile Designs on the part of Sindia, but to advise the Current of Opinions in Afrasiab Khan's Camp; this I thought I had explained to you.

Late last Night I received a Letter from the Governor General¹ of which I send you an Extract, wherein I have used both your Cypher and my own as the contents are of so much importance: after you have read it, consider of what I am now going to say, and give me your unreserved Opinion of it—it appears to me absolutely necessary that Sindia should be heartily interested in the cause and his strickt secrecy secured, before we let him into the full extent of this Business, unless this should be rendered impossible by The Governor General having already made that communication; Because I do not believe that Afrasiab Khan can wish to see Mirza Juvan Buckt at the Head of such a Force, and a premature Discovery that Sindia designs to second such a plan, may induce Afrasiab Khan to attempt putting further Restraint on the Shah as the last Resource for preventing his consent to the Measure, or Mirza Juvan Buckt's attempting to proceed; this he cannot effect so easily, if at all, when either the Shah may be in Camp, or Sindia in Agra and therefore it appears to me that one of these Movements should immediately take place; and that in the Interim no more of this Matter should [be] divulged than that the Governor General has

prevailed on Mirza Juvan Buckt to come back to Lucknow, from whence The Vizier will forward him to Furruckabad, on his Return to the presence and that the Adjustment of all other points is left to Sindia yourself and me.

This precaution appears so necessary to me, that I intend to keep even the Shah out of the Secret for the present, least [*sic*] he should betray himself. So soon as Sindia shall be hearty in the Business and the Shah within the reach of his Protection, the whole may be discovered, and Mirza Juvan Buckt desired to proceed as fast as he can. If Sindia thinks my presence necessary to Discuss any of these matters before the Shah moves, tell him I am ready to come upon your intimation. If not I will stay for the Shah. Expedition in this Matter is pressingly necessary, since all our Efforts can not long preserve such an Affair from Discovery.

I am,
Dear Anderson,
Yours &ca.

Agra,
Octr. 26th, 1784.

A true Copy
James Browne

74. Copy of an Arzie of Major Browne, for the Sublime Presence Concerning the Departure of Nawab Amaud ud Dowla Governor General Bahader for Calcutta, and the going of the Prince on the road of Benares intending for Lucnow and Furruckabad, and the expectations from the Conversation of the Presence together with Maha Raja Dihraje adorned with the royal Signature.

Substance of the royal writing¹

Your loyal Arzie has passed the Sacred Sight, the writing of the fortunate Son Amaud ud Dowla Bahader, which has been addressed to you on the Subject of the Departure of Mirza Jehandar Shah Bahader became clear to our Wisdom; his departure was very right and the Cause of Joy to us. It is proper that you should write that he should hasten to the Presence. The Son Maha Raja Dihraje Madho Row being at the splendid Presence, he should attend in Service in conjunction with the powerful Son Ameer ul Omra Bahader.

May it please your Majesty

At this time a writing of Amaud ud Dowla Governor Bahader Jelladut Jung is arrived to my address, Containing that at the time of his determining on a Journey to Lucnow, he entrusted the Affairs of Government and rule of Calcutta and those Parts to Mr. Wheler as his Deputy, who possessed full Confidence in the Company's Sircar next to himself. Now that Mr. Wheler by the Will of God had deposited his Life, all the Affairs of those Parts by reason of his Decease were becoming ombroiled,

that therefore on the 6th Zehedge² taking boat on a Filcherra which is the swiftest of Boats he had set out for Calcutta. As Care of the Sacred Orders is the most important of Affairs, and he cannot be either forgetful or Careless in conformity to the royal Commands, therefore before his Departure, having made representations to the Prince, who is anxious for the moment of reaching the Divine Steps, It was determined that his Highness going as far as Furruckabad should wait until I should communicate whatever might be represented in Conversation conjointly with Maha Raja Dhiraje Madho Row Bahader and the Ameer ul Omra Bahader to his Majesty, and be determined on, and so his Highness attend without delay to obtain the happiness of Kissing the Threshold which is strongly his Wish. Accordingly his Highness having set out from Benares on the 13th Inst.³ will arrive at Lucnow by the Way of Benares having visited the Holy Sepulchre of Sahle Messaadod Ghazi,⁴ and thence make his happy and august arrival at Furruckabad ; therefore have I represented.

No. 108

TO Major James Browne

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 14th Instant and those which preceeded it in the Order of their several Dates. I am extremely concerned and astonished to find that his Majesty's late speeches which you have communicated to me are full of Expressions of Disappointment and Reproach. In my own mind I am satisfied that in all my Conduct towards his Majesty I have been actuated by the most sincere Desire of promoting his prosperity and establishing the Independence of his House. Whatever therefore may be his Majesty's real sentiments. [sentiments] I am hurt at finding myself loaded with unmerited reproaches, and the more so as apparently they have been suffered to pass without any Reply or Vindication. Of all the Circumstances which have been enumerated as the Grounds of his Displeasure there is scarce one which might not have been explained satisfactorily. Thus for Instance you knew before you left Lucnow that it was not in my power to command the March of a Body of English Forces for the support of his Majesty : and you knew the Embarrassment which arose from the Contradicting sentiments professed by his Majesty in his secret and confidential Communications, and the Language Ostensibly held by him in his public Declarations. These are the Chief sources of everything which has afforded his Majesty Displeasure. Had they been fully explained, and that they were not (can only be ascribed to your having no Opportunity) his Majesty might have lamented his disappointments but could no longer have blamed me as the Author of them. You may now inform *his Majesty* that everything in my power to comply with his Wishes has been done. The *Prince* urged by a sense of Duty and Obedience to his Royal Commands rather than by the hopes of improving his own Expectations has at length

resolved to return towards Agrah. He will set out from this place on the 29th¹ attended by my Body Guard and after performing some Ceremonies of religious Worship at Baraich he will proceed by way of Lucnow to Furrukabad² where the Nabob Vizier has ordered 5 Batalions of Sepoys to be assembled for his protection. If his Majesty shall then have it in his power and think it proper to invite him to his presence on an honorable footing he will repair to Agra but if his Majesty should be so much under the power and influence of his Ministers, and if they should persist in such a Conduct that the Prince cannot succeed without throwing himself naked at the mercy of his Enemies he must in that case from necessity resort to the protection of the Vizier or the English who have already afforded him an asylum and must continue to afford it until they can accomplish his return to his Father's Court on a safe and honorable Footing. In the mean Time as I cannot negotiate these Objects with Effect myself, I have left the management of them to Mahajee Scindia, and as he has undertaken it with an appearance of warmth and is himself concerned in the Event I have sanguine Hopes of Success.

It is with extreme concern that whilst Events of so much Importance are depending I am obliged to leave this part of the Country, as I have this morning received the melancholy news of the Death of Mr. Wheler³ which obliges me to return immediately to the Presidency. I shall embark the Day after tomorrow in my Feelehchera and shall proceed without halting more than a few hours during the whole way.

Benares,
20th Octr., 1784.

I am Sir,
Your sincere Friend,
Signed. Warren Hastings

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 109

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl. &ca. &ca.,

Hon'ble Sir,

This Instant Advice is brought me that, the Nawaub Afrasiab Khan was assassinated this forenoon about 11 o'Clock at his Camp by a private soldier,¹ just as his army in Conjunction with Scindias was moving towards Hamdany's Camp: He was alive when the Advices came away but his Death was expected every Minute. I shall write the particulars hereafter when I shall be thoroughly informed of them. With the highest Respect I am &ca.,

Agra,
Novemr. 2d, 1784.
1/2 past 4 p.m.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 110

O the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

Yesterday after Noon I advised you of the assassination of the Nawaub Afrasiab Khn.—the wound proved mortal and tho' his Death was kept secret till Night yet it happened soon after Noon. M. Zein ul Abedien Khan is thought to be the author of this Act, as the assassin was one of his private Horsemen called *Cheraitas*, and M. Zein ul Abedien fled immediately after the Nawaub was wounded to Scindias Camp¹: added to which he was discovered to be the Author of a Conspiracy against Afrasiab Khan's Life in April last of which I informed you in my Letter of the 13th of that Month and for which he imprudently not only pardoned him but admitted him to his Confidence²: I need not tell you that he is the elder Brother of the late M. Shuffy Khan and after his Death was a Candidate for the Dignity of Amir ul Omrah. The enclosed paper³ contains a detail of all the Transactions in Camp yesterday. With the greatest Respect &ca.,

Agra,

November 3d, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

P. S. His Majesty has this Instt. confirmed the Kelahdar of Agra⁴ (who is Father in law to Afrasiab Khan and was Kelahdar on his part) in the Office on his Majesty's Part, and the Royal Colours are hoisted in the Fort and also in the public Offices throughout the Town.

Signed. J. B.

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 111

TO the Hon'l W. Hastings Esqr.

Hon'ble Sir,

In my Letter of the 29th Ulmo. I had the honor to advise you that his Majesty had demanded from me a written Engagement that the Troops coming up with the Shahzada should not be employed in any manner opposite to his Majesty's Inclination, and that I had promised to give it on the part of my Constituant. I could have wished that the Time had allowed of my previously consulting you but I perceived his Majesty to be in that Temper of Mind that he would have considered delay as a refusal, and would have never consented to his Son's

coming up with so large a Force; by which means the Object of his Return which Governmt. has so much at heart would have been defeated by an attention to Forms—Since I know that what his Majesty required was nothing more than what Government meant to perform.

App. No. 75

I have the pleasure to enclose a Copy (No. 1) of the Engagement for your Inspection, and I beg leave to Request that Orders may be issued to the Troops accordingly if it should not already be done.

As soon as this Engagement was given his Majesty immediately wrote to his son to advance with his Troops to the Presence as expeditiously as possible. He also has sent the enclosed Shoka to your address, it is written by his Majestys own hand.

Affairs in the Camp of the late Nawaub are in the utmost Confusion. Scindia has advanced with his Troops, and a part of the late Nawaubs about 3 Coss towards the Camp of Hamdany, and keeps up a kind of distant Fight with him, which it is thought will end peaceably. Scindia has written to his Majesty to join the army immediately but his Majesty is unwilling to leave the Fort till the Mogul Sardars, the Royal Artillery and the late Nawaubs Battalions make a movement this Way. In the mean Time Scindia has left Ambajee and Hymut Behadre to keep the late Nawaubs Camp from falling into Confusion which has disgusted the Mugul Sardars.

Could his Royal Highness arrive at this Juncture, the Shah would throw every thing into his hands, I have written to him in the most pressing Terms but his Despatch is not within my power. With the greatest Respect &ca.,

Agra,
Novr. 5th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 111

75. Copy of an Arzie of Major Browne for the Splendid Presence (on the Subject of a Compact by way of voucher) honored with his Majesty's Superscription.

Substance of his Majesty's writing

"The Treaty¹ arrived at the Splendid Presence and was a Cause of Joy to our Sacred heart : Write to our beloved Son, the Prince to hasten to the Presence, and prepare the Drafts of the three Shookahs² they shall be honored with our imperial Signature, and considering whatever Rajah Dehram Bahader,³ may transmit to Selah ud Din Khan, on the part of the Presence, as our own words execute it",

May it please your Majesty

On the Subject of the requisition for a writing from me, which your Majesty might see as a Voucher what has been commanded through Raja Dehram behadur, has been made known to me from the mouth of Selah ud Din Khan, as I attend to the Comforming [*sic*] to your Royal Commands, more than to divine adoration, and am perfectly at rest concerning His Highness Mirza Jehandar Shah and Nawab Vizier ul Momalic and Amaud ud Dowla, that they will not deviate a hair's breadth from the Road of obedience, and determined path of Steady Submission, therefore Agreeably to your favoring Command, having written with the pen of Slavery the Compact above mentioned I have transmitted it to your divine Majesty, it will pass the exalted Seight [*sic*], and instantly having written I dispatched an Arzie to His Highness containing "that whatever haste and expedition should take place in moving towards these Parts to obtain the happiness of Kissing the Throne, would be the Cause of Joy to his Sacred Majesty", by the favor of God in a Short time his said Highness will attend on your Majesty. I am hopeful in your favor, that three Shokehs will be favored with the Sacred Signature, addressed to his Highness, to Nawab Vizier ul Momalic and to Amaud ud Dowla, containing that I shall transmit a rough Draft to Raja Dihram bahader who is a loyal Sincere Servant of the Splendid presence.

Copy of a Draft of a Voucher by way of Security which was Shewn to his Majesty. Written on the 16th Zehedje, 1198.

I Mayeen ud Dowlah, James Browne, Servant of his Majesty Shah Allam Badshaw Ghazi, (may his reign be eternal) who attend on the said presence the treasury of Bounty for the purpose of Negociation on the part of the Nawab Vizier ul momalic Bahader, and of Amaud ud Dowla Governor General Hastings Bahader, have made a Compact and given a Writing to this Intent, that the Forces which at the Splendid presence may attend on the Stirrup of his Highness, the Heir apparent, Mirza Jehandar Shah behader, on the part of Nawab Vizier ul Momalic Asuph ud Dowla Bahader, and of Amad ud Dowla Bahader, shall remain under the orders of the resplendent presence, and beyond the protection of his Highness Jehandar Shah shall have no business with the Princes, and principal Omras, and neither act nor proceed in a manner Contrary to the royal pleasure, or destructive of Gratitude which would be a Cause of Confusion to the Government of the Empire. To this purport I am Security on the part of the aforesaid Nawab Vizier, and Amud ud Dowla and the Holy and Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, and the Holy Majesty of Jesus Son of Mary, are witnesses that no deviation will occur from this. Written 16th Zehedjee 1198, Hijree corresponding to 26th year of his Majesty's Reign and to 1st November 1784,

No. 112

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

As the Introduction of the Viziers Troops for the service of the Shah will probably in its Consequences be productive of the Presence of European Officers of some Rank, it appears to me absolutely necessary previously to fix the precise line of the Residents Duty in that Event, as well as that of the Commanding Officer and those under his Command, by such explicit and Preremptory [*sic*] Orders as may neither admit of misinterpretation nor evasion otherwise the Views of Government may be constantly defeated by the passions and Interests of Individuals, and the National Character degraded by unworthy Disputes amongst the Company's Servants, Effects always highly prejudicial to the public Interest, but specially in the Eyes of a foreign Power.

I have done myself the honor to enclose a paper containing a few articles which appear to me a sufficient Foundation for the requisite Instructions, they may be altered encreased or diminished upon a Comparison with the Instructions given Originally to the Resident at Lucnow together with the occasional Orders issued to correct particular Evils. But after all the grand support of the Resident's requisite weight must depend upon the Boards listening to no proposals of a public Nature which do not come thro him, or at least not made with his concurrence. This is especially necessary in this Place so remote from the seat of our own Government where from the very imperfect knowledge which the neighbouring Chiefs have of negotiation lodged anywhere but with the Representative of Government, must immediately render ineffectual all the Efforts for the service of the State, by destroying the Confidence of the Country Powers with respect to the Trust reposed in him by his Constituents. With the greatest deference I submit this to your Consideration, and I am &ca.,

Agra,
Novemr. 5th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Memorandum for the Instructions to the Resident at the Court of Dehly.

1st. That no European shall be presented to his Majesty nor introduced to his Ministers except by the Resident.

2dly. That no European shall be presented or introduced except the Commanding Officer and his Family and such others as the Board shall specify.

3dly. That after their being presented or introduced, if they should at any Time wish to pay their Respects to his Majesty or to visit the Ministers, the Intimation shall be made thro the Resident, and the Visit made in Company with him.

4thly. That all Business without exception shall be transacted thro the Resident and no person be allowed to send any Vakeel Banyan or other Agent to any of the Durbars, nor shall any Letters be written to his Majesty or his Ministers that shall not be previously seen and approved of by the Resident who is to be also the Channel of conveying it.

5thly. His Majesty's Orders to the Troops shall be sent thro the Resident to the Commanding Officer but in the Shah's Name, nor shall any other Channel be deemed legal and adequate authority.

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 113

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., G.G. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address to you was dated the 5th Instant.

Since the Death of Afrasiab Khan Sindia has appeared solely actuated by the advice of Rajah Hymut Behadre and Rajah Naroin Das Afrasiab Khan's Dewan a Casmerian. By their Instigation he has attacked Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany¹ in Contradiction to the Shah's Orders and has declared Khadem Hussein Khan² son to the late Afrasiab Khan and now only 6 years old his Father's successor without ever consulting his Majesty. Hymut Behadre and Rajah Naroin Das have advised this with a View to get the management of everything into their own hands during the Child's Minority and Scindia has probably been led to adopt it by promises of Money tho he assures the Shah that he only designs it as an expedient to keep things from falling into Confusion till the Shah Gets to Camp. His professions are fair but his Conduct is suspicious.

The Camp of Afrasiab Khan is divided into several Parties, some are for waiting the arrival of the Shah, some for acknowledging the authority of Khadem Hussein Khan but all are disgusted with the impudent attempt of Hymut Behadre and Rajah Naroin Das to usurp a superiority over them, and almost all wish that Scindia would accomodate matters with Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany on honorable Terms. Scindia with an Army four Times as numerous as Hamdany's³ but afraid to approach him, has cut off his Provisions and threatens to compel him to give up all his Artillery and Muskets which Hamdany declares that he will sooner perish than submit to. Scindia finding his obstinate Resolution and dreading Treachery from the Mogul Sardars and indeed from almost all Affrab. Khan's Army, as also being influenced by the Advice of some of his

own Sardars who from different Causes are advocates for Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany begins to incline to moderation. In the Interim however the Distress in Hamdanys Camp from want of Provisions is excessive and must speedily end in accomodation or submission unless it be removed—should neither of these however take place but Mahomed Beg Hamdany be driven by despair to assault the Confederates in their posts he will probably be joined by most of Afrasiab Khan's Troops to the Discomfiture of Scindia.

Scindia has found such proofs of Zein ul Obedien's guilt that he has put him into close Confinement and says he will lodge him in Gualior for Life,⁴ a Resolution which will do Scindia the greatest Honor.

The Night of the 6th Instant Mujid ul Dowlah who has been confined for four Months past in the Fort of Mursan 18 Coss from Agra under the Charge of the Father in Law of Afrasiab Khan who is Kelahdar of Agra arrived at Agra having left his Confinement by the Connivance of the Kelladar who has been induced by the Orders of his Majesty⁵ and my repeated solicitations to take off all restraint from Mujid ul Dowlah in the place of his Confinement.⁶ Unfortunately for him the Confederates—Rajah Hymut Behadre and Rajah Naroin Das (especially the latter who is in dread of retaliation for having been the Instrument of Mujid ul Dowlah's Confinement) had written to the Kelahdar with Denunciations of Vengeance in the Name of Scindia if he let Mujid ul Dowlah escape. In Consequence of this soon after his arrival at Agra and before he could see the Shah he was conveyed into the Kella of Agra and lodged in the Kelahdar's House without being allowed to see the Shah which exasperated the latter exceedingly. I offered my Mediation and to be security for conveying Mujid ul Dowlah to Scindia but it was civilly declined. The Kelahdar however has allowed the Shah's people to attend Mujid ul Dowlah,⁷ has promised to treat him with the utmost Respect, and to forward him to the Shah as soon as Scindia shall signify his Consent; so that the unhappy old man has at least exchanged the place and mode of his Confinement for the better.

His Majesty marched yesterday⁸ four Coss to this place escorted by part of a miserable Batalion of his own and about 300 *Pindarries*⁹ sent by Scindia for his Majestys Honor and Security.

However disagreeable the subject may be I cannot neglect to call your attention to the very alarming Consequences of the Power which Scindia is preparing to throw into Rajah Hymut Behadre's Hands. Of all the Sardars of Hindostan I believe that man to have the most rooted and inveterate Hatred to both the English and the Vizier, he has openly avowed it both in his Words and actions by being the Vakeel of the French, Hyder Ally, and Tippoo Sultan, to the Shah and Nudjif Khan, as also the open patron of Chyte Sing, whom he very lately said he would soon conduct to Benares. His total want of honor and shame has induced him indeed at different Times to make overtures both to you and the Vizier when the State of affairs has appeared unfavorable to him, in this quarter,

but as these have been rejected, the Mortification of his Pride has added to the inveteracy of his Enmity; Power to manifest the latter is all that he hitherto has wanted. You must determine Honle. Sir whether he may be said to possess that, if Scindia gives him the Niabut to Khadem Hussein Khan and the possession of the person of the Shah, as it is generally believed that he will. It is not just now my Province to point out the probable Effects of the implicit Confidence which Scindia has lately shewn in this Man's advice, and indeed I have particular Reasons for not doing it, but I think it may be believed without any impeachment of Sindias sincerity that they cannot be in favor of the English or the Vizier. I give you this early Intimation that you may use such precautions as your Wisdom shall suggest to guard against the Consequences of an arrangement so hostile to the Interest of the English and their Allies.

For a more minute Detail of the Transactions in the late Nawaubs Camp since his Death I beg leave to refer you to the Enclosed Paper of Intelligence on wch. I believe you may rely.

Upon the Occasion of Afrasiab Khan's Death I thought it a proper Opportunity to urge to the Shah what you were p[leas]ed to recommend in yours of the 13th of September at least so far as that he should not fill up the Vacant Office till Mirza Jewan Buckt's arrival. His answer was that he could not determine any thing till he should see Scindia. With the highest Respect I am &ca.,

Camp at Petowley,
Novemr. 8th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 114

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 8th Inst. On the 9th I had Information that Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdany had proposed to surrender himself to Scindia with no further Stipulation than those of Security for the person and private property of himself and Relatives together with about 100 followers, as this might either be Sincere or an expedient for gaining Time and for getting Provisions into his Camp, I waited to know the Result before I should write to you. The point is now decided : on the 10th Instant Hamdany delivered up his Guns,¹ Troops and Amunition and repaired with his Family and the stipulated number of followers to the Camp of Ambajee where Tents were pitched for him secured by Scindias Troops. In a Word he is a Prisoner. His Army dispersed, His artillery, small arms, Elephants &ca. plundered, for which he is indebted to

his reliance on Scindias Faith and Honor which were pledged for his Security if he would refrain from Hostilities against Afrasiab Khan till Scindia should arrive, a just Punishment for his Credulity.

By this surrender the army of the late Nudjif Khan becomes subject to Scindia, there is no Chief who will venture to oppose him, all Idea of a Power in the Moguls to Counterbalance the Hindoos, which fifteen Days ago might with Ease have been preserved, is now at an End ; from Guzerat to Jumboo, and from Attack to Rohileund, There is no Power but Scindia and the Seiks, every thing else is but a Name. If they should dispute, the Contest will be serious and important : should they unite, their strength will be irresistible.

Nothing is yet done towards terminating the Confusion in this Country. Poverty, disunion, fear, Shame, and concealed Malice are the Lot of the Mogul Army ; Insolence and avaricious Rapacity, is that of the Marattas and their Hindoo Allies and Instruments.

The grand Camp is six Coss from hence four of which his Majesty is to March tomorrow. Scindia has sent a Considerable Escort to meet his Majesty, under Command of Appagee Kondo Row² ; and it is imagined that he will meet him himself tomorrow if it should be a lucky Day.

Since my giving his Majesty the paper whereof my letter of the 5th Instant enclosed a Copy, he has been as anxious for his Son's arrival as he was before averse from it, and has instructed me to write him repeatedly. He has also applied to the Vizier³ for a loan of Money upon Tunkas, could he but get that, he would yet be able to save the remnant of the Mogul Power, by gaining over a part of the Army ; but I fear the fortune of the House of Timur is at an End. With perfect Respect I am & ca.,

Camp at Futtapore,
Novemr. 12, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 115

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I have just received Information which I believe may be relied upon, that Scindia has made his Majesty (who is just as much a prisoner to him as he was to Aga Shuffy, or Afrasiab Khan) write Mirza Jehandar Shah a Shoka,¹ directing him immediately to repair to the Presence, but on no account to bring the English Troops with him. I defer addressing you publicly on this matter till the Shoka shall be sealed and ready for Dispatch. This is designed to afford you the earliest Opportunity of Judging how this Negotiation is likely to succeed in its present Channel. With

perfect gratitude and Respect I am &ca.,

Camp near Burtpore,
Novemr. 23, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 116

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address¹ was dated the 12th Instant. The 14th Scindia waited on his Majesty,² having previously stationed the whole Maratta Army round his Tent and forbid any part of the Mogul Army to quit their Camp. The 16th the Shah marched to this place, under Convoy of Scindia and his whole Army. His Tents are pitched at nearly an equal Distance from the Mogul and Maratta Camps, but he is surrounded by a large Detachment of Scindias army, and no people go to the Durbar but by the permission of Scindia.³

The Intrigues going on are infinite, but I will not trouble you with the Detail of them just now, as they can have little or no Influence on our National Interests for some Time.

The Subject of this Letter may perhaps appear of a different Nature, as operating to throw unsuperable Obstacle in the Way of Shahzada's Return to his Fathers Presence, and consequently to fix him in either the English or the Viziers Territories. After the Death of the late Amir ul Omrah, and when by the Engagement which I gave his Majesty on the part of my Constituants, I had so totally removed his suspicions respecting the Forces coming wth. his Son, that he not only acquiesced in their Coming, but both in Shokas from himself, and by his Command, thro me most pressingly urged his expeditious Approach ; there was reason to hope that no further Difficulties would have arisen to obstruct the Views which you hon'ble sir had formed of sending back the Prince with Honor and safety, especially as Scindia who is in absolute possession of irresistible power in this Part of the Country, had voluntarily offered, and pledged himself, to give his utmost assistance in forwarding your Views. It has however happened otherwise and a step has been taken by Scindia, which puts a stop to the Shahzadas approach for the present at least. The 23d. I received Information that the draught of a Shoka had been made agreeable to Scindia's request, forbidding the Shahzada to bring any

App. No. 76. Troops with him, and the 24th in the Morning I obtained a

Copy of it, which I have the pleasure to enclose and which I immediately communicated to Mr. James Anderson, who in consequence has called upon Scindia to explain his Conduct in this Occasion,

for which Explanation I must refer you to Mr. Anderson. The Shoka was sealed and delivered to Scindia's Agent, but I am not informed whether he has despatched it or not. I am sorry to add that Scindia conducted the whole of this Business without the participation of Mr. Anderson or myself nor indeed have I yet had the honor of seeing him. Tho' Mr. Anderson has repeatedly spoken to him on the Impropriety of our meeting being delayed so long, and tho' at the very first, to prevent any delay, I committed the whole Etiquette to Scindia's own determination. Whether the Conduct of Scindia respecting the Shahzada is the natural Consequence of that intoxication arising from a sudden and unexpected acquisition of Power, or of the advice of his new Confidants (pointed to in my address of the 8th Instant) I cannot venture to say, but whatever may be the Cause, both the appearance and the Effects are bad.

Camp near Burtpore,
Novemr. 26, 1784.

I am &c.,
Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 116

76. Copy of a royal Shokeh¹ which was issued to the address of the Prince Mirza Jehandar Shah, and came thence enclosed in a Letter from him directed to Major Browne, received on the last day of Mohurruum 1198 Year.²

The Arzie of you our beloved Son, (containing your Arrival at Nawab Gunge, and that you would with all expedition become exalted by a Pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of the Holy Salar Mesaaood Ghazy, and with complete dispatch attend at the Imperial Vestibule), being dated 2nd. Mohurruum and transmitted thro' Mayeen ud Dowla James Browne Bahader passed the Sublime Sight. At this Time³ our fortunate Son Meha Rao Pateel Sindiah Bahader has obtained the honor of Kissing the elevated throne and has Settled the Conclusion of the affairs of you the well beloved Light of our Eyes, and the thread of friendship and Affection between our fortunate Son Ameer ul Momalic Amaud ud Dowla Mr. Hastings Governor Bahader and our prosperous Son Maha Rajah Madho Rao Sindieh Pateel Bahader is absolute and firm beyond measure, so that in no respect can difference or discord be observed: further the fortunate Son Governor Hastings Bahader has written Several times to our prosperous Son Madho Rao Sindiah Bahader for the recall of you the light of the imperial Eyes, that Hastening to the presence, and Obtaining the pardon of your offences he should Speedily Summon you to the presence,⁴ so that himself he might depart for Calcutta with confidence in him. In consideration whereof our prosperous Son attending on the Presence has successively urged

representations, and the Articles were accepted; whereas without differences the forces of our prosperous Son belong to the splendid presence, it is not requisite nor necessary to bring a Single Battalion with you, therefore it is improper to bring them with you, for a Treaty and engagement has been firmly bound and ratified for the Affairs of you the well beloved light of our Eyes, and our prosperous Son Meha Rajah Sindiah Bahader has obtained from the Splendid presence the arrangement of you our beloved's affairs according to the wishes of your heart and whatever he says and whatever he does is in conformity with you and according to your Counsel, therefore you the beloved light of our Eyes, without respect of persons, and with perfect tranquillity obtain the highly honoring happiness of attendance, and account us favorable to the prosperity of your affairs.

No. 117

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Governor General.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last Address to you was dated the 26th Ulmo. since which the army has marched to this place, six Coss on the road towards Joipoor and tomorrow it moves again the same way with design to terrify the Joipoor Rajah into payment of the Demand which Scindia in the Shah's Name makes upon him. But these are trifling matters when compared with the others now in agitation. His Majesty this day summoned me to his presence to meet Scindia, and to be witness of his receiving the *Khelat* of *Vakeel ul Mutulluck*,¹ for the Peshwa, which was given in Charge to him to forward to Poonah together with the *Muir-Muralib*² and other honorary Insignia. His Majesty at the same Time told Scindia in public Durbar, that he constituted him as the Peshwa's Representative, Supreme Manager of all the affairs of the Empire.

The Day for Scindias receiving the *Khelat* of Naib to the Peshwa in his new Office is not yet fixed. His Majesty soon after asked me some questions respecting Mirza Jewan Buckt, and said he was satisfied with Scindia's good Intentions towards the Shahzada, and that as his Troops and those of the English are one, there can now be no further Occasion for his delaying to come to the Presence, I replied that the Shahzada is at present sick at Lucnow³ as his Majesty knows. It is almost unnecessary to remind you hon'ble sir that the *Vakele ul Mutulluck* is superior in Rank to the Vizier and greatly so to every other Officer of State. Scindia has therefore by this Act, put his Master at the head of the Government of Hindostan and amongst others who are thereby rendered accountable to him, are the Vizier for the affairs of the Vizirut, and the English Company for the accounts of the provinces under their Authority. Whether ever the Marattas will exercise this authority in a manner wch. may be dangerous to either, Time alone can discover, but it is certain that the Royal Name hitherto disregarded from want of power to support it, may now with the Force

of the Mahratta Government, and such allies as from similarity of Faith, and a Common principle of Interest may join in their Views, be employed to subvert any power which may stand in their way. The integrity and pacific Disposition of the Mahrattas are therefore the only security for the Vizier's Dominions not being disturbed. But I have written so much on the subject within the last twelve months, that I will not trouble you any further at present. I am with the highest Respect &ca.,

Camp at Pinghore,
Decemr. 1st, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 118

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I had the pleasure of addressing you the 1st Inst. since which the Army has Marched 6 Coss further inlining [*sic*] towards Joipore. This Morning¹ Scindia was invested with the Khelat as Naib to the Peshwa for the supreme administration of the affairs of the Empire of Hindostan. He received on the Occasion the *Chaun Kub* which is never given but to the Vizier or the Vakeel ul Mutulluk, and a *Nalkcy*² which has never been given but to his Excellency the Vizier, even in this Reign and before, was sacred to the Royal Family.

The Rana of Gohud having been delivered up to Scindea³ by the Rajah of Karowly,⁴ was yesterday brought prisoner to Camp. It is said that Scindia has ordered him to be sent a prisoner to Gualiar.⁵ I am with the highest Respect &ca.,

Camp at Hullena,
Decr. 5th, 1784.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 119

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 5 Decr. The design of the present one is to inform you of the purport of a Message which I have had the honor to receive from his Majesty Shah Allum, and which he expressed his desire that I should communicate to you.

His Majesty was pleased to say "Mr. Hastings may now perceive the truth of what I have often written to him, that the Total Neglect shewn to me by the English, would at last compel me to throw myself on the first strong Power that should present itself. The Fidelity formerly shewn to me by the English, made me wish to owe the reestablishment of my affairs to them, but they have been Deaf to my application, if they be now offended by the Rank and distinctions bestowed upon the Mahrattas they must blame themselves not me; and [if] hereafter anything inimical to the Interests of them and the Vizier should be done in my Name, let the English Depend upon its being opposite to my Inclinations and the Effects of Compulsion."

I beg leave to recommend this Message to your Consideration Hon'ble Sir, and to suggest how much it implies his Majestys belief that some measure may soon take place of a Nature to affect the English and the Vizier.

The great Camp of the Seiks is arrived near Dehly¹ where they commit all kinds of Devastation. His Majesty is very pressing with Scindia to March thither, and Nedjif Kooly Khan, the Soubah of Dehly, has declared that he cannot defend the City against the Seiks without support. Yet Scindia seems very averse from quitting this side of the Country till the Forts of Agra and Deig are in his Possession. I am &ca.,

Deig,
January 12, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 120

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr., Gov. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 12 Inst. I have now the Honor to advise you that the Mogul Garrison of Deig was yesterday removed¹ to make room for a Maratta one. The Jaidads and Jagheers of the Mussulman Sardars are also gradually receiving Maratta Masters.

The Two enclosed papers from the great Camp of the Sicks will inform you of the Devastations made by them very near to Anufshere. With the greatest Respt. I am,

Deig,
January 16th, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 121

TO the Hon'ble W. Hastings, Esqr., Gov. Gen.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated yesterday. The present serves to convey the Intelligence of the Great Army of the Seiks having partly crossed the Ganges into his Excellency the Vizier's Country, and plundered Husseinpoor with thirty or forty smaller Villages. When the enclosed Paper left their Camp, they were proceeding further into his Excellency's Dominions to Chandrowsy, a place of great Value and quite Defenceless. This may Tend to prove that different arrangements on the Frontier from those now Existing are necessary for the preservation of his Excellency's Country against Enemies whose strength Consists in Cavalry, however fair their professions may appear. I am &ca.,

Deig,
Januy. 17, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 122

TO The Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 17 Inst. and enclosed the News of the Great Camp of the Seiks having passed the Ganges into the Viziers Country; I have now the honor to forwd. another paper¹ from their Camp² near Sumbel giving an account of the Devastation of his Excellency's Country up to the 4th of Rubbeh ul Awal (or January 16) and that without resistance. This has given an Impression on the Minds of the Sardars here very much to the disadvantage of that Respect for the strength and activity of the English Government, which has always been, and always must be, its greatest, if not its only security from attempts to invade its possessions, or those of its allies. I am with the Greatest Respect &ca.,

Deig,
Jany. 22, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 122

Intelligence of the Shick Army dated the 4th of Rubbee ul awal at Bowaneepore 4 Cose from Sekill, enclosed in Major Brown's letter of the 22d January. Received the 15th February 1785.

Goordeet Sing and Mukul Sing and other Chiefs who were encamped here and who every day mounting their Horses attacked Jedosee & returned to their Camp on the 2d totally destroyed the Village of Resee and Mahomadpore inhabited by the Seyeds & having again attacked Jedosee returned to their Tents. They consulted & agreed to plunder Moradabad. On the Morning of the 3d being Friday part of the Army went towards Moradabad when a Messenger arrived & informed them that Jeetoo Loll & Sobharam & Bowan Bumry Khan the Renter of the Duties who were in Jedoosee & had defended it, made their escape in the Middle of the night & that the Merchants of that place were conveying their property to different places. All the Chiefs having consulted & having countermanded the march of the Army towards Moradabad went immediately towards Jedosee. As it was 5 cose off they arrived at the gate by 9 o'Clock & attacked it. The Peons of the Merchants who were in readiness kept up a short engagement with Muskets but at last the Gate was broken & the Shick Sirdars entered & set fire to all the houses & markets and plundered all the property. They remained employed all day & night in plundering & many Lacs of Goods and money came into their hands. Bumry Khan the Renter of the Duties hearing this event conveyed his family two days Journey to the Gurra of Buraoly. To day the 4th all the Chiefs are marched off. We shall see what quarter they may go to; wherever they go they immediately destroy every thing by Fire. Beem Sing the son of Golaub Sing with 500 Horse crossed over at the Ghaut of Cumner ud diannagur & destroyed the Country of Buchrawan & Seleempore & Guna Sier Mahomed Khan & no Chief has as yet taken any measures in consequence of this disturbance. Whatever may happen, shall be written.

[*Sec. Cons., 19 Feby. 1785, No. 12*]

No. 123

TO The Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 22d and now I have the particular pleasure of enclosing you an account of the Expulsion of the Seiks¹ from Rohilcund by the English and the Viziers Troops. This will effectually remove the ill Consequence which in my last I expressed my apprehension of. As to the Seiks' Threat of returning, I do not believe that they will attempt it, and if they do, it is very easy to repel them when we are upon our Guard. With the greatest Respect I am &c.,

Deig,
Jany. 24, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 124

TO The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 24th Instant, since which I have had advice of the Seiks' Marching twice successively in a direction towards their own possessions in the Doab but the enclosed paper,¹ just received from their Camp, and dated the 12th of Rubbi ul awal conveys the intelligence of their having again directed their March towards Sukertal,² where the Ganges is fordable. Time must discover whether they mean to cross over or not. I am with the greatest respect &c.,

Deig,

Signed. James Browne

Januy. 28th, 1785.

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 124

Intelligence of the Sheik Army dated the 12th Rubbee ul awal from the Neighbourhood of Benampore five Cose on this side the River from Darranagar, enclosed in Major Brown's Letter of the 28th January 1785. Received the 15th February 1785.

On the 11th the Sheik Army was encamped between Runcheet Ghurra and Bossoly: Sirdar Mukheel Sing & Jessa Sing Ramhudma having consulted together, prepared for marching, but as Sirdar Kurrum Sing was arrived near Goheerlungra, which is about 15 Cose from Runcheet Ghurra, Goordeck Sing & Lowan Sing Bhaag & other Chiefs sent word to Mukheel Sing that they ought to remain encamped that day & after the arrival of Kurrum Sing they might march to whatever Quarter they might all approve. Mukheel Sing sent for answer that as they were ready to march, they could not possibly remain; that Kurrum Sing might join them at their next Encampment in the Country belonging to Raja Golaub Sing. But Moher Sing agreeing to give Mukheel Sing some presents he consented to stay and did not march away till near Noon. After they marched about 12 Cose they arrived and encamped near Benampore and went forth to plunder the Villages of the Pergunnah Pehohadeny of all their grain and Seed. To day the 12th they remain encamped there and all the Chiefs being assembled, consulted. It is reported that letters from the Army of Mahajee Sindia are received by the Chiefs, but the particulars are not known. They left the Army and went under the Trees where they held Consultation and read the Letters. We hear from some of them that Mukheel Sing had advice that their plunder should be sent to the other side the Jumna and the Army be advanced

to Pehohadeny which is 12 Coss distant and that the Baggage being left with the Army 10 or 15 Thousand Horse being crossed again over the River should go plundering as far as Berelly. They have sent horsemen to look for a Ghaut and are expecting the arrival of Kurran Sing. Whatever may happen, shall be written.

[*Sec. Cons., 19th Feby. 1785, No. 15*]

No. 125

TO The Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr., Governor General &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 28th Ulmo. This is intended solely to advise you of the Death of the Nawaub Zabita Khan¹ which happened at Ghosgur² the 27th Ulmo. suddenly of an Indigestion. Gholam Kawdir Khan³ his eldest son left his Fathers Court some years ago and took protection with Scindia, who lately reconciled them, and sent the Young Man back to his Father. It is probable that Scindia will support him in the succession on certain Terms. At present the Seiks are likely to interfere, their grand Camp being in that District, and this may produce Hostilities between them and the Mahrattas.

The Fort of Agra will very soon be in Scindia's possession by a secret treaty between him and the Killahdar. I am with the highest Respect &ca.,

Deig,
Febry. 1st, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 126

TO The Hon'ble W. Hastings Esqr. Govr. Genl. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 1st Instant. I have now the Honor to enclose two Persian Papers for your perusal. No. 1 a paper of Intelligence¹ from the Camp of the Seiks dated the 21st of Rubbieh ul awal, from which it appears they have received a considerable reinforcement, and that the Design of repassing the Ganges is not yet entirely relinquished. No. 2, is the Copy of a Letter² written by the Machery Rajah³ a Considerable Ragepoot Chief whom Scindia lately sent with his Forces as an Auxiliary to Ambajee⁴ in settling the province of Dehly and its Dependencies; it is addressed to Bugheel Sing the Seik Sardar⁵ who Commands the Army which lately invaded Rohilcund and I have good reasons to believe it authentic, In this

letter the Seiks are exhorted to join the Mahrattas in finally destroying the Mussulman Power and in the Conclusion, there is an Intimation of Scindia's Wish to consult the Seiks respecting some *New Conquests* which he has in View, an expression which I shall not pretend to explain the meaning of. I am wth. the greatest Respect &ca.,

Deig,
Feb'y. 9th, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosures to Letter No. 126

Intelligence from the Seik Army of the 21st Rubbeeulavull four Cose to the West from the River opposite to the Ghaut Sebulghurrah which is about 14 Cose from Seetabad.

Before this I have written all particulars till the 16th Instant which you will have perused, after that Jessa Sing and Goordeet Sing and Mukhull Sing &ca. being assembled consulted together, that the Horsemen were returned from examining the Fords, and that they must with Expedition cross over the River and plunder some place. At this time news arrived that the Nawab Zabeta Khan was dead, upon hearing this Mukhull Sing said that it was proper to cross the River towards Ghowsghurra. The Hircarrahs who had gone to the other side of the River returned and gave Intelligence that the English Army and Battns. were advancing along the Banks on the other side of River to attack the Army: at night the Report of Guns was heard from the other side of the River the Sieck Sirdars also fired their Cannons, and are told that the Ghauts on the other Side are very carefully watched and guarded. On the 19 they marched 2 Coss from thence towards Deobund. Mukhul Sing encamped at a Distance of 2 Cose and Jessa Sing &ca. pitched their Tents at Distance from one another, and they are at variance on account of the plundering the Villages of Ruchee. On the 20th they remained and Hurry Ambuzee arrived with Letters from Row Pertaub Sing of Machree and an Arzee from the Vackeel of Mukhul Sing, accordingly the Chiefs mounted their Horses and went forth from the Army and sitting under the Trees they in Consultation read the Letters. What I learned from the Moonshee of Mukhul Sing to be their Contents I have written on a seperate Paper. On the 21st News arrived that Kurram Sing and Doolja Sing and Roy Sing and other Chiefs were come from the neighbourhood of Ghowsghurra and were encamped 4 or 5 Cose from the Army. Immediately Mukhul Sing went for an Interview with Khurram Sing, and having first condold with him on his wife's Death he afterwards took him into private and consulted together, that as all the Chiefs of the Khalsa were now assembled and an Army of 30,000 Horse and

Foot was in Readiness it is now proper that they should all join at some Ford, that to this day they have been waiting for him alone: that wherever he should advise the Baggage would be deposited, and the Army then immediately carried to the other side of the River by which means the Affairs of the Khalsa would be properly conducted in the plunder of the Country and great Riches would be collected. Kurrum Sing answered that Hurry was not necessary; that they should first settle and reconcile the Difference between him and Jessa Sing and that one Chief cannot be appointed to the Care of the Baggage, and that afterwards whatever might be the Resolution of all would be carried into Execution. Mukhul Sing then shewed him the letter of Sindia and Rajah Hummut Bahadre and the Arzee of Rozmul Vackeel and the Letter of Row Petaub Sing of Machree addressed to him and informed him of Hurjee Ambazee's arrival and negotiation. In the Evening he returned to his tent. Tomorrow or next day when all the Chiefs will meet and Consult whatever may be resolved I will write to You.

[*Sec. Cons., 1 March 1785, No. 3*]

The Substance of the Letter of Row Petaub Sing of Machree which was brought by Hurjee Ambazee to Mukhul Sing.

The Expulsion of the Turks will be easily effected, and it is a Business in which your Religion is concerned. If you are desirous of joining in the Attempt give immediate Information, that having settled the Matter with Sindia I may send the Necessaries. Many Particulars will be told you by Hurjee Ambazee which you will consider as true. I am going with Apajee to the Neighbourhood of Delhi wherever you may appoint I will have an Interview. Sindia is turning his Thoughts to the Conquests of new Countries.

Substance of the Arzee of Rozmul Vackeel

Having settled all negotiations with Sindia in the firmest manner, I have received my Dismission, and am coming with Apajee. As soon as the Army arrives in the Neighbourhood of Delhi, I shall quit it and being soon arrived at your Presence will inform of Sindia's Designs.

[*Sec. Cons., 1 March 1785, No. 4*]

No. 127

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. Genl.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 9th Instant—and I have now the pleasure to transmit you the Intelligence from the Seiks Camp to the 26th

of Rubbih ul Awal¹ by which you will perceive that they have again approached to the Ganges. With the Greatest Respect I am &ca.,

Deig,
Feb'y. 12th, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

Enclosure to Letter No. 127

Intelligence of ye Sick Army the 26th Rubhee ul Awul at Dunyapoor two Cooss from the Ghaut Sehoss Gurrah on the Banks of the River.

I have before writing all particulars till the 21st Instant which you will have perused. At present the State is this. On the 22d and 23d the[y] remained encamped. Mukhull Sing went to see Kurram Sing and they consulted together. Kurram Sing said that it was improper to pitch their Tents at a Distance from each other and to permit any Difference to exist the Other answered that Jessa Sing from 3 or 4 days had separated himself on account of his Dispute with Goordeet Sing & Sewaun Sing, but that in every other respect they were all united, and that whatever might be Kurram Sing's advice should be followed by all the Chiefs. They then consulted about the March.

Accordingly it was unanimously resolved by them to march the next day towards Dunyapoor & the Ghaut Sehuss Ghurra & crooss [*sic*] the river at that Place. Having written an Answer to the Letter of Row Pertaub Sing of Machree, they sent off Herjee Ambazee—the Answer mentions that they will first have an Interview with him, and then agreeably to what he may advise join him with the greatest Pleasure. We shall see in what Place this Interview will take Place. Liza Sing the Vackeel of Jessa Sing who is arrived at Ghowsghurra from Sindia, after settling the Negotiation has brought with him a Pundit as Vackeel from the Maharattas : he will to day or tomorrow join the Army and whatever may be his negociation will be written hereafter. On the 24th they prepared to march, when on a sudden a storm of Rain began. Jessa Sing and the other Sirdars sent [word] to Kurram Sing that they [were] waiting for him, and desiring him to march and appoint the Place where they should encamp. Kurram Sing answered that it was dangerous to march in the rain and that they should Delay it till the next day. The 25th in the Morning the Drum beat for the March and the Baggage was sent off. Mukhul Sing & Roy Sing and Baugh Sing being mounted waited some time for Kurram Sing who came from his Tents and all together moved 13 Cose and encamped in the Neighbourhood of Daryapore about 2 Cose from the Ghaut Sehoss Ghurra on the Banks of the River, and people were sent out who plundered the Villages. The Chiefs went under the Trees and consulted that they should all be reconciled. They then sent 2 or 3 thousand Horse to the Banks of the River

who should cross over and plunder the Villages on the other side ; but not finding a Ford and being discovered by the English Battalion encamped on the other side upon the Banks of the River who fired at them, they returned. We shall see what they resolve in their next Consultation. Letters are received from Golaum Kader Khan the son of the late Nawab Zabeta Khan, addressed to Jessa Sing and the other Chiefs, that the[y] should receive the former allowance from Ruckee and Kurrah and that they ought to remove their Army from his Country, and not ruin the Villages. Hussen Khan who came from Kader Khan has not Yet received Permission to return. Whatever answer they may give to the Letters I will write as soon as I learn it.

[*Sec. Cons., 1 March 1785, No. 6*]

No. 128

TO the Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esqr., Govr. General &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 12th Instant and I have now the honor to enclose another Paper of Intelligence* from the Camp of the Seiks on the Banks of the Ganges dated 27th of Rubbih ul Awal. I am with the greatest Respect &ca.,

Deig,
Februry. 14, 1785.

Signed. James Browne

A True Copy
H. Abbott

No. 129[†]

TO the Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

Having received two Arzees¹ for his Majesty Shah Allum through Captn. Jonathan Scott, the one under your seal, the other under the seal of Mr. Hastings ; both advising his Majesty of Mr. Hastings's resignation, and your accession to the office of Governor General ; I waited on his Majesty this morning, and presented them. In the hurry of his own preparations for his departure, Captn. Scott omitted to convey to me your instructions for presenting any Nuzzur² to his Majesty on your part, but as this is always customary on occasion of appointment to any high offices, I did not hesitate to present the usual Nuzzur of one hundred and one Gold

* Not traceable.

† From this letter onwards, the numbers given are our own since the relevant letters not forming part of one serie have been collected from Secret Department Consultations,

Mohurs in your name, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

Permit me, Hon'ble Sir, to offer you my most respectful congratulation on your accession to this Government : In the present intricate and delicate state of Hindostan politics I may also congratulate the Public, that the office in which all negociations with the Country powers center, is vested in a Gentleman, from whose discernment and steadiness the most favorable termination of them may be expected.

As my correspondence with Mr. Hastings will have conveyed to you all the information which I have obtained respecting the state of affairs in this quarter ; both before and since the entire authority acquired by the Marattas over all his Majesty's forces, revenues, and councils ; I will not trouble you by a repetition of what they contain.

As to what immediately concerns Sindia, I shall always leave the communication of it to Mr. James Anderson. Such information as I receive through his Majesty's Durbar, or from the Camp of the Seiks, I shall consider it as my duty to communicate to you. With the greatest respect,

Deig,
17th Febr'y., 1785.

I am &ca. &ca. &ca.,
Signed. James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 8 March 1785, No. 8*]

No. 130

TO Major Browne at the Court of Shaw Allum.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 12th of February addressed to the late Governor General, and have laid it before the Board. It is their wish both to avoid the Expence of your Deputation, and as Scindia is in fact now in possession, of all authority at the Court of Shaw Allum, that you return to the Presidency without loss of Time : I concur with the Board in this Opinion & inform you that I wish you to return to the Presidency with all convenient Expedition.

You will present the enclosed Letter to his Majesty Shaw Allum¹ if you think it proper for announcing the Occasion of your Departure from his Court.

I shall be very ready to do justice to your activity, & attention during your late Commission from Mr. Hastings but I am not as yet fully informed upon this subject as your Correspondence with Mr. Hastings has not come fully or regularly before the Board.

Calcutta,
1st March, 1785.

I have the Honor to be Sir,
Yr. most obt. & most Hble. Servant,
Signed. John Macpherson

[*Sec. Cons., 1 March 1785, No. 7*]

Enclosure to Letter No. 130

To the King

Your Majesty's Servant being anxious to know particularly the State of the Royal Health, he has thought proper to give Major Brown leave to withdraw from the Presence, and return to Calcutta.

Mr. James Anderson, who remains near the august Presence, will inform Your Servant of Your Majesty's commands.

None of the English Serdars have ever shewn to Your Majesty more Respect or Loyalty, than it is the Wish of your Servant to shew.

Written 1st March, 1785.

[*Sec. Cons., 1 March 1785, No. 8*]

No. 131

TO Major Browne

Sir,

I am favoured with your Letter of the 15th of Febry.¹ from Shah Allum's Court at Deig. Before I received it I had transmitted to you the Board's Wishes for your Return to the Presidency, and a Letter from me to Shah Allum, which you would present or not according to your own Opinion of the propriety of the Measure.

As the Shaw appears to be absolutely in the Power of Scindia and as Mr. Anderson will be able to carry on the necessary Intercourse with that Chief the Close of your Mission will be a saving of Expence nor could your Stay at Shah Allum's Durbar be very agreeable to yourself or useful to the Public as Circumstances stand at present. I must however inform you that your Correspondence with the late Governor General, as far as it came to my Knowledge has been calculated to apprise him of the real Situation of Affairs without any partiality to his Political Ideas. He informed me of the General Tendency of your Representations, but except the last Letter which you addressed to him I have not seen any Part of your Correspondence with him since you left Delhi to visit him at Lucknow.

I have little Confidence in the good effects of Negotiations with the native States with all the address that we can exercise in our political Intercourse with them. Our Security, especially on our Frontiers must depend on a well-appointed force, ever ready to check the first Hostility. It is at the same time certainly of use to have good Intelligence relative to the motions and designs of the Country States, and I remember this was the Object of your first Visit to Delhi. The Measures that followed from that Period at Delhi seem to have led gradually to the completion of Scindia's acquisitions of the Mogul or Imperial authority but as I have not been regularly informed of the directions which you have had from Mr. Hastings I cannot say whether your mission might not have been turned to the Counteraction of Scindia's Views had that been an Object to this Government.

I wish to have a concise account of your negotiations from your first

arrival at Delhi to the present period. I doubt not but it will do yourself Credit and prove satisfactory to the Board.

I apprized Major Palmer as early as I could do of my Ideas about your Return to the Presidency. In a Letter from him² which I received two Days since he seems to think the Vizier has still hopes that Shah Allum may disengage himself and claim the protection of this Government. Scindia must be well informed of the Wishes of the Court of Oude, and the apprehensions of the Vizier. I know not but any anxiety upon our part abt. [about] the authority which Scindia has assumed or its future Consequences to the Vizier's Dominions would be the most likely means to excite Scindia's ambition and bring on claims that we wish to avoid. Our wisest plan in such Circumstances is to say little and act with Vigour and leave Scindia with his Mogul honors and Seik-Alliances to reflect upon the Readiness of our Troops. We are taking effectual Measures to put our Troops in the Vizier's Provinces on a respectable footing.

I hope you will deliver over to Mr. Anderson your Channels of Intelligence and communicate with him freely and amicably on every subject before you quit Deig.

I beg to hear from you in the Course of your Return. I am fully satisfied with the Propriety of your Conduct in having paid a Nazur of 101 Gold Mohurs for me when you presented my Letter to Shah Allum yet I have my Doubts whether in the situation which I have the honor to occupy for the present I ought to pay a Nazur or Tribute of acknowledged Inferiority to any power whatever being the representative of my Employers and Country. But on such points it is not advisable to go abruptly out of the established Tract or to sacrifice any part of the public Interest to Punctilio.

I am, Sir, with Esteem,
Your faithful and most humble Servant

P.S. Should the Shah be disposed to offer me Titles, as has been customary and that your Rejection of them might be considered as a mark of Disrespect—I have only to suggest to you that the only Title I would choose to be called by from his Court is—My name, and Govr. Genl. for the Affairs of the English in India, and *favoured* by Shah Allum. But not the *Slave* or the *Servant*. The late Act of Parliament³ declares in a more explicit manner than formerly that these Dominions are the Dominions of the State—or of the Nation. And if Scindia has any view of making claims from names, or his Titles of Vaqueel ul Mutaluck there might be a little Impropriety in my accepting and using any Titles from Shah Allum which avowed the Shah's Sovereignty over these Provinces, tho' his Title of *King of the World* certainly leaves me no Retreat from the range of his Imperial Sovereignty.

Calcutta,
5th March, 1785.

[Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 6]

No. 132

TO the Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I had the pleasure to address you the 17th Ultimo, and have deferred writing since in daily expectation of receiving his Majesty's reply to your letter,¹ but it is still delayed, I understand on account of a letter which Sindia wishes to write at the same time.

The Killadar of Agra² not having been satisfied with the security offered to him by Sindia, the latter sent a body of troops³ to blockade the place, but to avoid hostilities with the Fort, if possible : However, contrary to Sindia's wishes, (who was fearful that the spirit of opposition might spread to other places) they began to fire from the fort on the 19th February, and the Marattas also erecting Batteries, the place was pretty closely besieged. In hopes of bringing it to a speedy surrender, Sindia marched with his Majesty from Deig the 26th Ultimo, and arrived at this place⁴ the 4th inst., since which a negociation for delivering up the Fort has again been set on foot, and the firing almost entirely ceased.

The 6th instant I received intelligence, on which I think I can rely, that the Seik Sirdars, who lately invaded Rohilcund, have entered into engagements with Sindia,⁵ which bind them to assist him with troops whenever he may require them, for a certain subsidy. But the interests and pretensions of the Marattas and Seiks clash in so many points, that I apprehend their union cannot be very firm. With the greatest respect

Camp near Agra,
the 8th March, 1785.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient hble. servant,
Signed. James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 5 April 1785, No. 2*]

No. 133

TO The Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive last night your letter of the 1st Inst. with it's enclosures, and shall use all the expedition which the delays of this Court, and the dispersed state of my agents (whom I have written to recall from among the Seiks, and from other places) and of my baggage, the greatest part of which is at Dehly will admit to comply with your orders; and I now beg leave to assure you most solemnly, that were it in my power to prevent it, I would not remain here one day after receipt of your orders.

I shall proceed from hence to Cawnpoor, which is the nearest

station at which I can procure Company's boats to convey me to the Presidency.

His Majesty has been very ill for some days past, but I hope to have the honor to present your Arzées to him tomorrow, or at furthest the day after.

You have not been pleased to signify your pleasure respecting the other Gentlemen attached to this deputation; the officers of the Escort will of course return to their respective corps; but besides them, are Mr. Bird, who has acted as my assistant, and Mr. Dorival, the assistant Surgeon with me: The first of these Gentlemen is not in the Company's service, consequently there is no particular place for him to return to; I shall therefore desire him to remain with Mr. Anderson 'till your orders respecting him shall arrive: It is a piece of justice due from me to this Gentleman, to assure you, that during two years that he has acted as my assistant, his conduct has given me entire satisfaction, and authorizes my saying, that should you have occasion to employ him you will find him deserving of approbation. He was long in the family of Mr. Hastings, and patronized by him.

Mr. Dorival is a French Gentleman of near sixty years of age, forty of which he has practised as a Surgeon; being removed from the service. of the late Nawab Shuja Ul Dowla, together with several other Foreigners,¹ at the instance of the English Government, some years ago, Mr. Dorival entered into the service of the Nawab Nudjif Khan, and remained in that of his family 'till December 1783, a[t] which time I being seized with a violent fever, and having no Surgeon of the Company's with me, was obliged to apply to him for assistance, which he very readily afforded me, and by the most unwearied attention and assiduity for several months, saved me from the effects of a violent and complicated sickness: In consequence of which Mr. Hastings was pleased to appoint him an assistant Surgeon from the 24th June 1784, as you will perceive by a copy of the order which I have the honor to enclose for your inspection; this order being conditional, both respecting the confirmation of the Board, and also as it connects Mr. Dorival's appointment with the deputation to this Court, which the Board have thought proper to put an end to; I fear that his appointment also may be considered as virtually destroyed. This compels me, though with the greatest reluctance, to give you the trouble of reading this long detail, that you may comprehend the very great distress and difficulty to which he will, in that case be reduced, at his great age, in a remote and foreign country, without a single rupee to provide for himself and family, and after having relinquished the service of Nudjif Khan's family, from a reliance on the permanency of his situation in the Company's. Had I a right, which I know that I have not, a right to trouble you, Hon'ble Sir, with my personal solicitations, they should be strained to their utmost extent on the present occasion; as it is, I can only state the circumstances of the case, and trust that Mr. Dorival will find that support in the humanity and benevolence of the Governor General which he cannot receive from my recommendations,

With the greatest respect,

Camp near Agra,
The 16th March, 1785.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
Signed. James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 2*]

No. 134

TO The Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &c. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 16th Instt. and early this morning I had the honor to present your Arzees to his Majesty Shah Allum, having given him previous intimation of the purport of that respecting my recall. His Majesty expressed great dissatisfaction at the total removal of the English Resident from his Court, which strikes him as the last degree of disrespect, and a determination to cast off him and his unhappy cause for ever. It is needless for me to trouble you with the whole detail of what he said on this occasion; I will therefore only repeat a few of the most material articles, by which you may judge of the mortification which this circumstance has given him. "The English (said his Majesty) have for several years withheld from me every essential service, but they are now beginning to lay aside even the common externals of respect and consideration, and totally to forget all that they have received from me and my family; they recall their agent from my Court while they continue those which they have with the Vizier, the Nizam, Tippoo and the Marattas, who are all my subjects; at the same time they write me, that their agent with Sindia shall also transact their business with me: do they not perceive, that this is declaring to the whole world, that they have less respect for me than for my own servant; and do they suppose that Sindia will always be in the Presence; that one agent should be able to attend both Durbars; I shall generally be at Dehly, and Sindia in camp; in this case with whom is their agent to remain."

His Majesty said a great deal more on the same subject, and in the conclusion declared, that he would not give me my dismissal, 'till he had an answer to the Shokah¹ which he has written in answer to your first arzee, on your succeeding to the Government of the Company's affairs, and which I have now the honor to enclose, together with a letter from Sindia² upon the same subject. As I know that it is by no means the design of the English Government to shew any outward disregard to the Royal house of Timur, however irreconcilable its claims may be with the pecuniary interests of the Company, I made no objection to his Majesty's pleasure so far as respected waiting for your answer to the enclosed Shokah; and this I did with the greater readiness on account of the unusual purport

of the Shokah itself, and the very extraordinary circumstance of Sindia's sending a letter in confirmation of such a claim.

The subject of the Bengal tribute is too well known to you, Hon'ble Sir, to require any comment: I shall confine myself to remarking, that it was thought of so very delicate a nature, at the time of my being sent to his Majesty's Court, that in the instructions given to me by Mr. Hastings, & communicated, I believe, to the Board, I was particularly ordered to use my utmost endeavors to avoid the discussion of it; I of course turned my attention to this point, and, though after my arrival at Dehly, the subject was repeatedly brought forward, yet, I found means to gain his Majesty's Ministers so effectually to the English interest, that his Majesty's representations on this head never exceeded a general complaint of his distress for money. The total destruction of that Ministry, and the succession of Sindia to the offices and powers possessed by them, having deprived me of the means which I then possessed, of keeping back that claim; it now appears again, supported by a display of the Maratta power, which his Majesty describes as devoted to his service as well as by a letter from Sindia himself. Under these circumstances, I am willing to persuade myself, Hon'ble Sir, that you will approve of my not having abruptly quitted his Majesty's Court in opposition to his desire 'till I can be honored by your further orders.

The superscription to the Shokah, written with a pencil, is by his Majesty's own hand, and was added after hearing of my intended departure.

I cannot conclude without adding a few words respecting the total removal of a British Minister especially attached to his Majesty's Court; and in order to exclude (though I hope the precaution is superfluous) any idea of my being influenced to what I am going to offer by any unworthy motives of personal interest, I beg leave previously to declare to you, Hon'ble Sir, that I am not in any respect ambitious of retaining that office, but shall cheerfully relinquish it in favor of any person whom you may prefer to execute it; But I shall sincerely regret its being totally abolished, and that for many public reasons. Because, even in it's present wretched state, the Imperial Court is the center of all intrigue and negotiation; from an habitual respect for the Royal name, the greatest Sirdars in the whole Empire keep Vakeels there, and give advice of any great designs that are in agitation, nay even solicit the sanction of the Royal name: Two striking instances happened during my agency at this Court; Tippoo Sultan, though in possession of all his Father's conquests in the Carnatic, offered a peshcush of twelve lacs of Rupees to his Majesty upon receiving the Sunnuds for the Subahdary of Arcot; and Monsieur De Bussy when he arrived on the Coast, sent his Majesty an arzee, declaring that he had the orders of the Court of France to furnish his Majesty with whatever troops he might require for expelling the English from their possessions in India. The terms I then stood on with his Majesty's Ministers enabled me, not only to see the original letters from the French and Tippoo, and to take copies of

the former which I transmitted to the Governor General in August 1783, but to prevent any countenance from being given to their designs, though they by no means wanted for advocates at this Court. These instances I have brought to prove, that as any power which has hostile designs against our nation will probably solicit the sanction of the Royal name, their secrets are much more likely to be discovered here than at the Courts where they are planned, and where the parties concerned are usually most on their guard; and also that since the Royal name is so powerful an instrument, that every one wishes to possess it, It is but prudent to avoid unnecessarily exasperating the person who possesses it, or disposing him to connect himself with powers at enmity with us or our allies; by appearing to totally disregard, and separate ourselves from him. Besides, even the power of Sindia is on a very weak foundation, and in case of any accident to him, a scene of anarchy would arise, in which our Government would require the clearest lights that could possibly be obtained, and the greatest attention to managing his Majesty, in order to secure themselves and Allies from feeling the effects of such a change.

Allow me, Hon'ble Sir, to recommend this most respectfully to your consideration, repeating what I began with, that it is not the person, but the Office, that I presume to argue for the support of. With the highest respect,

Camp near Agra,
The 19th March, 1785.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
Signed. James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 4*]

No. 135

FROM the King to the Governor General

Your Arzee with a Nazzir of 101 Gold Mohurs delivered to us by Major Browne who has been honored by our royal Favor & Countenance was perused & the Contents of it full of Allegiance were learnt & the Nuzzir sent with it was from our royal Benevolence approved.

You write that you consider the Performance of Obedience to Us your greatest Happiness & Felicity, & that Mr. Hastings on account of the unwholesome Climate of this Country & his consequent bad Health & also for some necessary Concerns had determined to proceed to Europe; that the 20th of Rubbee ulawul was fixed for the Day of his departure, & that you would succeed to the Place of Mr. Hastings as Governor General. The Particulars of your attachment submission & allegiance are fully known to our royal Mind from your Arzee & from that of Mr. Hastings, & it is necessary that you consistently with the Declarations in your Arzie remain from your Heart & Soul employed in the Performance of the Duties of

Obedience. By the Blessing of God the royal Benevolence will extend its favor of Protection to you. From the Time of our return from Allahabad to the royal City until this Day the Tribute from Bengal & which used yearly & without Delays to be paid to the royal Sircar has never come into our Treasury. As you are employed in proving your attachment to our royal presence it belongs to your good and faithful Conduct to apply yourself with vigour that through your labors the promised Money should according to the English Company's former Custom be paid to the Royal Sircar. It is well known that the powerful Chief Sewayee Mudho Row Narain who resides at a Distance of 700 Cosse from the royal Threshold has solely to prove his attachment & allegiance sent Madho Row Sindia to attend in our Presence : it is necessary that you also prove your true Obedience to the royal Throne by sending the promised Money for the Soubah of Bengal &ca, that the happy obtaining of our Will may give birth to fortunate Events for you.

Postscript written with a Pencil in the King's own Hand.

Mayeen uddowla Nusseer ulmoulk Major Browne Bahader attends at our Royal presence agreeably to our royal Satisfaction in performance of Obedience on your Behalf ; & at this Time a Royal Shukka has been addressed to you on the subject of settling the matter of the promised Money for the Soubah of Bengal &ca ; the Pleasure of our royal Heart is this that until the Completion of this Business the Negotiation of it should be managed through the said Bahader.

recd. 2nd April 85

From Sindia

Intimacy is fixed & established between the Company & the Peshwa through my Mediation upon solid Basis of treaties. For this Reason his Majesty has ordered me that as a royal Shukka spreading honours has been addressed to you, I also should in consequence of our Close Connection and from Obedience in the illustrious Concerns write two Words to You on the Subject of performing the Orders of the royal Presence, as happiness in both Worlds can be expected from such Obedience alone ; & let an explicit answer soon arrive from You, as it is by all Means adviseable. I hope that until we can have an Interview you will at your leisure shew your Recollection of me by two Words mentioning your Health, because a Letter is half of an Interview.

recd. 2nd April

[*Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 5*]

No. 136

ARZIE from Major Browne to ye King

I have forwarded ye Royal Shooka weh was written to ye Governor

General Mr. Macpherson, & your Majesty had most graciously directed me to wait till ye Receipt of ye answer to that Shooka. In obedience to these royal Directions I remain. At this time that a second Arzie from ye Governor General has been presented to your perusal, I hope that a royal Shooka may be written in answer to that also wch I may forward.

Signed. James Browne

Written at ye Top by ye King with a Pencil. A Royal Shooka shall be written hereafter

[*Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 9*]

No. 137

TO the Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I had the pleasure to address you yesterday, enclosing a Shokah from his Majesty & a letter from Mahajee Sindia to your address & containing a renewal of the claim for the tribute of Bengal &ca, a consequence of the Mahratta administration, which I had the honor to predict so long ago as the 1st Decemr. 1784, in a Letter to the Hon'ble Governor General, tho' I did it in qualified terms. Since my last I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 5th Instant.

The objections raised by his Majesty to the withdrawing the English agency from his Durbar, & allowing him but a part of the agency fixed with Sindia, while Ministers are stationed with all the great potentates in India, are so fully detailed in my address of yesterday, that I will not trouble you any further upon that subject.

The terms in which you are pleased to mention my correspondence with the late Governor General, so far as has come to your knowledge, afford me the highest satisfaction, as expressive of your approbation of the motives which dictated representation of the evils to be apprehended from the enormous increase of the Mahratta power, the proofs of which evils rested on predicted events, and even after several such proofs had appeared, received no support from collateral communications. The discernment and liberality, which, in spite of such disadvantages, could perceive & do justice to this good design of my representations, excite my respect, & demand my sincere acknowledgement.

Respecting the parts of my correspondence with the late Governor General which have not passed under your inspection, I beg leave to observe, that if the letter, which you say Mr. Hastings shewed you, was drawn up in the form of a memorandum, & entitled, 'Memorandum for Mr. Hastings, respecting the state of affairs in Hindostan, the 1st. Jany. 1785,'¹ you have seen a complete summary of the negociations in which I have been engaged here with the several Ministers of his Majesty Shah Alurr respecting the alliance which they wished to form with our nation for the

purpose of restraining the Mahratta power within reasonable bounds without violation of our engagements with that state ; as also relative to the return of Mirza Jewan Bukht to his Father's Court : This paper will also have given you the best idea that I am able to convey, of the progress of Sindia, & the consequences which may be apprehended from the power which he has acquired within the last three years : In case therefore of your having read that paper, I need only add another memorandum particularly detailing the negociations carried on respecting His Majesty's affairs solely, and which are carefully excluded from the above mentioned Memorandum, and these two papers will answer to give as clear an idea of the transactions in which I have been engaged as I am able to convey, but will be very unequal, I fear, from producing those desirable effects which you are pleased to honor them with the prospect of.

As to directions from Mr. Hastings, I beg leave to inform you, Hon'ble Sir, that I never received any after my leaving the Presidency, 'till I had the pleasure to wait on him at Lucnow ; & all that I have received since that time have solely respected the return of the Shahzada, Mirza Jewan Bukht, to his Father's Court.

As to what you are pleased to say, respecting the practicableness of having turned my mission to the prevention of Sindia's schemes, in this quarter, I do not hesitate to positively assert, that it was perfectly practicable, & that, I think, without a probability of violating our treaty with the Mahrattas. This point is particularly discussed in the memorandum of January the 1st, above mentioned.

Your observation that our real security consists in the strength and judicious disposition of our troops, is strictly just, nor is your subsequent remark less so, on the utility of good intelligence respecting the views of the native states. Our army has at all times been our ultimate support ; but as to intelligence, it was not very pressingly necessary in this quarter, till the year 1782 ; because from 1765 to 1771 his Majesty was in our dominions, and soon after his arrival at Dehly, the whole authority of his Government being lodged in the hands of the late Nawaub Nudjif Khan, we had no reason to apprehend any injury from this side, since exclusive of the reliance which we had good grounds for placing in the friendship of Nudjif Khan, he possessed that mediocrity of strength, which, while it constituted a barrier that secured the frontier of our Ally the Vizier against the designs of the Southern and Western powers, was inadequate to the attempt of entering into any hostilities against us, should he have been so inclined : His death has totally changed the scene : The ruin of his Successors, who, divided among themselves, and unsupported by us or the Vizier, listened with fatal credulity to the insidious professions of the Mahrattas, has thrown the army, the revenue, and the person of his Majesty into the possession of a state, which certainly does not want the power, though I am willing to hope it wants the disposition to use them to our injury. This total change in the state of affairs here renders that degree of intelligence, which before was not requisite, a matter both of necessity and of

importance.

The opinion which the Vizier has expressed to you through Major Palmer respecting the Shah's again disengaging himself from Sindia, and claiming the protection of the English nation is certainly justified by probability: I know very well, that nothing less than the total desertion of him by the English could have driven him to seek any other protectors, and I know also that he is now exceedingly disgusted with Sindia.

I agree entirely with you, Hon'ble Sir, that to shew any anxiety respecting the power and designs of Sindia, might but the sooner produce the effects which we wish to avoid; but that is only, if the anxiety so manifested, be of a timid kind, for I am on the contrary entirely convinced, that if instead of that, our measures and language display that jealous vigilance which is both attentive to discover and oppose the ambitious designs of its neighbours; nothing will so soon deter the Mahrattas from any attempt to injure or insult us.

Whenever I leave this station, I shall certainly deliver over to my successor such channels of intelligence as are of a communicable nature: There are others depending on personal friendship and affections, and involved in obligations of secrecy, which consequently it is out of my power to transfer to another.

Your injunction to me to write to you even after the termination of my public Mission, I esteem a particular honor, and shall not fail to attend to it.

Respecting Titles from the Mogul Court, I do not remember any instances of their being offered to any person, except they were on the spot; those given to the distant Sardars, being usually solicited by their friends at Court, as happened in the case of the late Governor General and his Lady, whose titles were obtained by the solicitation of the Nawab Mujud Ul Dowla.

I must however take the liberty of saying, that if his Majesty either offers or grants you a title, it will be conformable to the customs and institutions of his own Court, which suppose every man resident within the Limits of the Mogul Empire, to be his Majesty's servant; I must therefore either accept it for you in the customary terms, or reject it altogether, which (as you observe) would probably be deemed a mark of disrespect. I am with the greatest respect,

Camp near Agra,
20th March, 1785.

&ca. &ca. &ca.,
Signed. James Browne

Hon'ble Sir,

I beg that the following may be allowed to stand as a postscript to my address of the 19th Instant.

P. S. Permit me (with the utmost deference) to suggest the sketch of an answer to that part of his Majesty's Shokah which relates to the Bengal tribute, which I trust will prevent any repetition of it for a long time, unless the advisers of this step have taken the resolution of making

this demand a plea for breaking with us, which I do not think immediately the case, but rather, that it has been used as an experiment of our sensibility : It will at the same time be conformable to the declarations made by our Government to his Majesty on former occasions.

“Your Majesty’s renewing the demand for the tribute of Bengal, I consider rather as a matter of form on the accession of a new Governor General, than arising from any opinion entertained, that I possess any power unknown to my predecessor, of setting aside the orders of my Constituents on this subject : above 12 years ago, this matter was submitted to their consideration, & their orders were,² that the payment of the Bengal tribute should never be renewed, except by directions from Europe ; and such directions have never been sent. I shall inform my Constituents of the demand which I have received from your Majesty, and communicate their answer whenever it shall arrive.”

Let me beg your excuse, Hon’ble Sir, for offering my advice upon this occasion, which I am solely actuated to do from my knowledge of the Shah and those about him ; and my belief, founded on that knowledge, that this reply will most effectually answer the purpose of keeping off repetitions of his Majesty’s claim, without abruptly breaking with him.

Signed. James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 7*]

No. 138

TO the Hon’ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon’ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 21st Instant, and I have now the honor to advise you, that the Fort of Agra was surrendered to Sindia this afternoon,¹ on articles of capitulation, as I at present understand, the particulars of which I hope to send you very soon. The next operation of Sindia’s army will be against Alighur, the fort in which the late Nawaub Afrasiab Khan’s treasure is lodged ; it is very strong, & has a numerous garrison under the command of Jehangeer Khan, brother to Afrasiab Khan, who has victualled it, as they say, for twelve months. This place being within four or five Coss of the Nawaub Vizier’s frontiers,² both firmness and dexterity will be required on the part of our Military Commanders in that quarter, to guard against insult on the one side, and improper contention on the other, on account of the probable irregularities of such an army as Sindia’s.

A large body of the regular Mogul Cavalry, lately discharged by the Vizier, with their Commander have lately arrived in Sindia’s Camp ; they will be entertained in the course of a few days.

I hope to be perfectly ready to leave this place long before I am honored by receipt of your answer to his Majesty's last Shokah.³ Since my last address, I have repeatedly applied to his Majesty for an answer to your two last arzees, but in vain ; he has always deferred giving it, as you will perceive by the enclosed paper, which is a written application from me to his Majesty⁴ on that subject, with the answer superscribed by his own hand. With the greatest respect,

Camp near Agra,
The 26th March, 1785.

I am, Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
Signed. James Browne.

[*Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 8*]

No. 139

TO the Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &c. &c.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 26th Ultó. & I have now the Honour to transmit to You for Signature, my Bills for Extra-Charges¹ during the Months of January, February, & March 1785. These charges being all of a Nature similar to those made from the Commencement of my Residence at this Court, require no particular Remark. I shall therefore only beg Leave to hope, that if (contrary to my expectation) you should think proper to continue me any longer at this Court, You will do me the Honour to point out your Idea of such Charges, that I may make it the future Rule of my Conduct ; this is the more especially proper, because such Charges are solely made in support of the Credit of the Government which I have the Honour to represent, and have not the smallest personal Relation to me.

The Sum of 1000 Rupees mentioned in the 2nd Bill for February, as well as 2000 Rupees mentioned in a Bill for last Year, transmitted to the late Governor General the 19th of January 1785, was paid to the Nawab Mujed ul Dowla, on Motives which were particularly explained in the Letter which accompanied that Bill, & which Mr. Croftes will, I imagine, have had the Honour to lay before You, as I desired him to do should it not arrive before Mr. Hastings's Resignation. When I ventured to make Such a Disbursement in the Name of my Constituents, I was influenced by the pressing Emergency of the Case, & a Belief that the British Government would think me highly reprehensible, had I suffered a man of the first Rank in the Empire, together with his whole Family, to perish thro' Want of a small pecuniary Assistance, for which he called on me as their Representative here ; & urged his Claim on the Ground of his ancient & firm attachment to that Government, of which I knew the

Reality. I am Sensible that in doing this, I have exceeded the Bounds of official Accuracy, but I humbly conceive that to a person in Such a situation as mine, much discretionary Latitude is confided ; and I trust Hon'ble Sir, that You will consider the present as a Case which authorized the Use of it. I am, with the greatest Respect,

Camp near Agra,
April 1st, 1785.

Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 15 December 1785, No. 4*]

No. 140

TO Major Browne

Sir,

Yesterday I received your Letter written in consequence of your Recall—with its Enclosures. These are this moment translated. I shall lay your Letter before the Board. But I think I cannot too soon apprize you that you run the risk of incurring the penalties of disobedience to orders in not having complied with those I sent you without loss of Time.

How far you were empowered as a Minister from this Government, or how far you are justified as a British subject to make yourself the Channel of the Shaw's demands of Tribute and of Scindia's support of those demands—will form another question—upon that the Board shall decide. I give it to you as my opinion that you should instantly on receipt of this letter comply with the Orders of Recall which you have received—and Represent to the Shaw that your departure from his Court proceeds from those Orders independently of any other Consideration.

Calcutta,
the 3d of April, 1785.

I am Sir,
Your very Hum. Sert.
Signed. John Macpherson

[*Sec. Cons., 9 April 1785, No. 10*]

No. 141

TO Lieut. James Anderson Resident with Mahajee Sindia

Sir,

Last night I had the pleasure to receive your Letter, covering a Copy of that transmitted by you to the Hon'ble Board. I have read it with attention, & I confess myself a good deal Surprised to find that the Subject of his Majesty's Shoka to the Govr. Genl., was unknown to you till you

learned it from Major Palmer, because it was a Subject of Conversation in the Durbars of both his Majesty and Sindia for twenty days before the Shoka was delivered to me, and this publick Notoriety of the Fact was one of the principal Reasons which prevented my making a Communication which I supposed would be Superfluous ; & this more especially because the Shoka had been written with the advice of Sindia, & accompanied by a letter from him, I concluded that its Purport would be made known to you by him ; such having always been the Conduct observed towards me by the Ministers of this Court, whenever they wished to write to the English Government.

I am obliged by your furnishing me with a Copy of your Address to the Board, to whom I shall assign my Reasons whenever they shall think proper to require them, for not having thought it necessary to Communicate the Purport of his Majesty's or Sindia's Letters to You.

Camp near Agrah,
5th April, 1785.

I am Sir,
Your mt. obdt. Hbl. Sert.,
Signed. James Browne
Minister at the Court of Delhy

A true Copy
Jas. Anderson

[*Sec. Cons., 19 April 1785, No. 11*]

No. 142

TO the Hon'ble John Macpherson Esq., Governor General &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

Last night I was honored by receipt of your letter of the 3rd Instant, & shall immediately comply with the injunction it contains.

A particular explanation of my conduct on this occasion, I shall reserve till I have the honor of seeing you ; for the present I shall only beg leave to observe, that your orders of the 1st of March did not appear to me of so peremptory a nature as might warrant my carrying them into instant execution, at the risk of such a step being considered as an actual breach with the Court to which I was deputed, as I had reason to fear it might, from the manner in which his Majesty received the intimation of my recall.

Respecting the second paragraph of your letter, I shall beg leave to observe, that the line of a Minister's conduct must, I humbly conceive, be marked out by the instructions which are given him : I have strictly complied with those given to me on the subject of the Bengal Tribute. Had they forbid my being the channel of conveying any demand from the Shah upon that head, I should have refused to do it : As they did not, and as his Majesty had no Minister residing on his part at Calcutta, there was no

person but myself who could officially be the channel of conveying such a demand, I being the English Minister at his Majesty's Court.

My next address shall advise you of my departure from his Majesty's Court. I am, with the greatest respect,

Camp near Muttra,
the 18th April, 1785.

Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
Signed. James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 3 May 1785, No. 6*]

No. 143

TO the Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor General &ca. &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

My last address was dated the 18th Ins. and I have now the Honour to inform you, that I received my Dismission from his Majesty this Morning, and shall march from hence to Night.

Yesterday the Shah had agreed to give me my Audience of Leave, but afterwards changed his Resolution at the Instance of Sindia, who expressed his desire to be present upon the Occasion.

The accompanying Narrative of what passed on this occasion, will, I imagine, explain the Motives of Scindia's Conduct in this Instance—and convince you Hon'ble Sir, of the Nature and Extent of his Views. I trust also that you will at the Same time do me the Justice to recollect, the frequent and earnest Remonstrances which I have made against the different steps, by which the Power of Sindia rising to it's present Height, has put him into a Condition to use the Language which he has done.

Probably the Time is not remote, when the Veil will be totally withdrawn, & every Thing will appear in it's real Form. With the greatest Respect,

Camp at Muttra,
April 20th, 1785.

I am Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 12 May 1785, No. 2*]

Enclosure to Letter No. 143

Narrative of what passed on the Occasion of Major Browne's taking leave of his Majesty Shah Alum—April 20, 1785.

My dismission was to have taken place Yesterday, but was procrastinated at the desire of Sindea to this Morning; and about 9 o'Clock his

Majesty sent to Summon me to his Presence, informing me that Sindea was already arrived.

After paying my Respects to his Majesty, and his asking some indifferent questions his Majesty was pleased to express his Concern at my Departure ; but added that as I was sent for to Calcutta for the purpose of more clearly explaining his Sentiments to the English Government, I might be of essential Service both to the English and to him, since no Person was so well informed of the State of every Thing in this Quarter.

In reply, I expressed my acknowledgement to his Majesty for the Honour He was pleased to do me, and said that my Duty to the English Government, and to his Majesty, both prompted me to give a faithful Detail of every Thing that came within the Compass of my Knowledge, when I should arrive at Calcutta.

After putting on a Khelat of Dismission (as is the Custom at the Courts of Hindostan) Sindea told his Majesty that he had something particular to say to me, and therefore requested that his Majesty would order the Servants, and all other Persons in whom he had not particular Confidence, to quit the Tent : this the Shah immediately complied with, and there then remained near his Majesty's Musnud ; besides Sindea, myself, Lieutenants Rind¹ and Bird,² belonging to his Majesty. Shah Nizam ul dien,³ belonging to Sindea Rana Khan Byc⁴ ; Ambajee and Mirza Reheim Beg ; belonging to me, Salee ul Dien Mahomed Khan, and Mirza Hidaut ulla Beg. I believe there were some others near enough to hear the Conversation, but not perfectly. I am thus particular, in Order that the means may exist of forming a just Idea, how far Sindea wished that this Matter should remain a Secret.

The conversation was opened by Sindea himself : He said—"My Friendship for the English is too well known to require any new Proofs or Professions and it is as their Friend that I now desire you to inform the Governor General, that it is my Advice that he should fall upon Means of satisfying the Shah for the *Kists* due to him, which will be both for the Honour and Advantage of the English". I replied "This is a subject which has often been discussed, and on which both his Majesty and yourself have very lately addressed the Governor General". "True, (said Sindea) but I now speak to you for myself, as the Friend and well-Wisher of the English." The Shah then said, "I have written and spoken to them for Years to no Purpose ; and last Year I sent Major Browne to Lucnow, to explain my situation particularly to Mr. Hastings ; but this produced no Effect either with Respect to my Requisitions or the Return of the Shahzada ; what better Expectations can I form from Mr. Macpherson ? Had the English and the Vizier acted as they ought to have done, they might in Conjunction with You (addressing himself to Sindea) have reduced to my Authority the whole Empire to Lahore & Cashmeir ; but the English have totally neglected me, and as for the Vizier, he employs himself in fighting Cocks, and running about Lucnow ; and scarcely knows who is King or who is Vizier." "What (said Sindea with Seeming surprise) does the Vizier fight

Cocks and run about the Town ?—He is very Young I Suppose.” “No, replied his Majesty, he is near forty.”

Sindea then changing the subject, asked me if I should go by way of Lucnow ? I told him that I should go by Water from Cawnpoor ; but that as I had Business both publick and private at Lucnow, I should endeavour to find Time to go over there, while Boats were preparing for me at Cawnpoor ; But that my principal Object was to reach Calcutta as expeditiously as possible. Sindea then said—“The Shahzada is still at Lucnow,⁵ Mr. Hastings wrote me a Letter which I can produce, and also told Bow Bueshy,⁶ that if I would obtain the Shah’s Pardon, & be Security for the Safety of the Shahzada, that he would return to Court, I have offered both, but still He will not come”. I told him “that this is a Point on which I do not know the Sentiments of any of the Parties, and that therefore Sindea had better write to them himself.” He replied as you are going “to Lucnow and Calcutta, there is no Occasion for me to write. You can explain every Thing, and I request You will”.

On the Subject of the Shahzada, his Majesty said nothing in addition to what Sindea had said ; which I attribute to the Conviction he now feels in his own Mind, that the Shahzada’s Residence in the Territories of the Vizier or the English, is the best security that the Royal House of Timur can have, that it Shall not be set aside, when the present Purposes of Ambition shall have been answered by the Use of it’s Name.

James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 12 May 1785, No. 3*]

No. 144

TO Edward Hay Esqr., Secretary to the Hon’ble the Governor General and Supreme Council.

Sir,

I was last Night honoured by Receipt of your Letter of the 20 Ulto. with the Paper it enclosed.¹

I request you will please to inform the Hon’ble Board that I shall immediately begin the Copy of my Correspondence with the late Governor General during the Time I filled the Employment of Minister at the Court of Dehly ; but as it is very voluminous, a considerable Part of it must remain unfinished at the Time of my Arrival at Calcutta.

I request you will at the same time remark to the Hon’ble Board, that I perceive in the Hon’ble Court of Directors Expressions, the Strongest Indication of their having been informed that I had engaged my Constituents with the Court of Delhy, which is Matter of the greater Surprise and Concern to me, since I cannot conceive that Hon’ble Court would have attended to any private Authority upon Such a Point ; and therefore I am not without Apprehension that Something to that Effect may have appeared in the publick Writings of the Board, tho’ I have never had an

opportunity afforded me of vindicating myself from a Charge so extraordinary & improbable.

I request you will further please to inform the Hon'ble Board, that my not having proceeded to the Presidency with greater Expedition has not arisen from Inattention to their Commands nor been in any Respect voluntary, but entirely from the Necessity I was under of settling my private Affairs, (as it is not my Design to return to this Part of the Country) in which I met with great Obstruction from the procrastinating Disposition of the Natives. Every Thing of that Kind is now obviated, and you may assure the Hon'ble Board that I shall lose no time in proceeding to the Presidency, where I am extremely desirous of arriving as Soon as possible.

Cawnpoor,
July 4, 1785.

I have the Honour to be Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 24 August 1785, No. 30*]

No. 145

TO the Hon'ble John Macpherson Esqr., Governor Genl. &c. &c.
Gentlemen of the Supreme Council.
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

I waited 'till I should arrive at the Presidency, to express to you the deep Concern which I experienced on perusing the Publication which the Hon'ble Board thought proper to make in the Gazette of the 12th of May,¹ respecting the Transactions at the Court of Shah Alum, about the Time of my Departure. I could have wished Gentlemen, that the Board had allowed me to explain, before they had censured my Conduct; but as that is no longer possible, I must be satisfied with explaining it now; & I hope I shall succeed in removing the Dissatisfaction which the Board has entertained with Respect to those Transactions.

In doing this, I shall beg Leave to consider three distinct Points,

1. My being the Channel thro' which his Majesty's demand for Tribute was forwarded.
2. My not advising Mr. Anderson that such a Demand was made.
3. The Inference seemingly drawn from this Demand being made at the Time of my Recall.

I hope I shall meet with the Excuse of the Hon'ble Board, even tho' I should take up more of their Time than they will can spare, since I mean this Letter as my Vindication both here and in Europe.

Respecting the first Point Gentlemen, I beg Leave to inform You, that when the Shoka from the Shah, and Sindea's Letter were brought to me by a confidential servant of his Majesty, I enquired what was the Purport of Sindea's Letter, and why it was sent to me instead of Mr. Anderson, who was the proper Channel of Conveyance for all Correspondence between

Sindia and our Government. He replied that Sindea's Letter was in Confirmation of the Shah's Shoka, and was therefore Sent to me that both might be dispatched together. I then reminded him of the arguments by which I had repeatedly answered his Majesty on the Subject of the Bengal Tribute, & particularly that of the total Incapacity of any Authority in India, to pay a single Rupee on that Account, the Matter resting entirely with the Company's Government in Europe; that if his Majesty wished to take the most effectual Step that the Case admitted of, He should address the Company, stating his pressing Distresses, & should send the Letter, & refer for Particulars, to Mr. Hastings who is gone to Europe. In Reply He informed me, that his Majesty designed to do So, and also to address his Majesty of Great Britain; & that I might perceive that his Shoka to the Governor General referred to Europe, & did not make any direct Demand on the Bengal Government.

After reading the Shoka attentively, & considering the matter in different Lights, I resolved to forward it for the following Reasons.

Because to have refused to forward the Shoka, would have been equal to a positive Declaration that his Majesty's Claim was totally denied or rejected, which neither my own Instructions, nor any Orders from Europe that I had ever heard of, could possibly have justified me in: both referred the Decision on the subject of the Bengal Tribute to Europe, and the Shoka did the Same.

Because I knew that no Evil could ensue from this Demand of the Shah, which was easily answered, as it had been answered before, by General Professions, & a Reference to Europe: and as to Sindea, I was convinced that He would not take any Measures in Consequence, unless he was both resolved & prepared to break with us, & in that Case, it could not be prevented by any Mode in which the Shah's Shoka might be transmitted to Calcutta.

Because his Majesty not having any Minister at Calcutta, & I being the English Minister at his Court, it appeared to me that it was my especial Duty to convey to the English Government every publick Paper received from his Majesty, provided it was not of a hostile Nature; & I was persuaded that this Demand could not be considered as coming under that Description, Since tho' often urged it had never been treated as a Hostility. Our Government did not think proper to encourage it indeed, for Reasons that need not be recited; but I believe no Man either in England or India, ever considered the steps by which the Shah was led to forfeit the Payment of the Bengal Tribute, in any other Light than that of an unhappy Infatuation, which might excite Compassion in the humane, but never could move Resentment even in the most obdurate.

Because with Respect to Sindea, I considered his bringing himself forward in support of this Demand, as an Experiment made on the Sensibility of our Government, in consequence of the new Powers which Sindea had assumed, I therefore thought it even a fortunate Circumstance that Government should by this Means know his real Sentiments at Once, &

answer him, rather than obtain by any Expedient a temporary Suspension of his Declaration, 'till He should be stronger & better prepared. I knew the Strength, & I had no Cause to doubt of the Exertion of the English Government, to resent the Intrusion, & convince Sindea that his Power was not irresistible, nor his Pleasure a Law for all his Neighbours, as his Flatterers had taught him to believe. These were the Reasons which determined me to forward the Shoka and Letter.

I come next Gentlemen to the second Point for Consideration, on which I must beg Leave to observe, that the Day I received Sindea's Letter, I informed Mr. Anderson of it, & proposed sending it to him as the proper Person to forward it, which he declined, & desired that I would forward it myself; He never asked me about the Contents, nor did I say any Thing respecting them either. What Reasons he had for his Silence, I do not know, but mine were, Because I did not believe it possible that Mr. Anderson should not have heard of the intended Demand for Tribute, as it had been notoriously publick at both Durbars for near a Month before; exclusive of the Men of Rank, I do not believe there was a Vakeel in Camp who had not heard of it; as it was a Matter So generally known, & immediately relating to the Durbar at which Mr. Anderson resided, I concluded that he knew it perfectly, that he had taken or would take his Measures on the Occasion, & that consequently any Communication from me would be superfluous, if not improper, as implying a Remissness which I had no Right to Suspect; Add to which, that I did not imagine it possible that Sindea Should have written a publick Letter to the Governor General, without informing Mr. Anderson of it's Contents, when he had every Reason to be satisfied of that Gentlemen's Attachment to him, & had So often found him the Channel of successful Application. And this Opinion was founded on my own Experience of the Conduct of his Majesty's former Ministers, who never wrote a Letter to the English Government that I did not See before it was dispatched. & generally before it was copied fair; tho' those Ministers were not in Alliance with the English Nation, & tho' so far from my being able to give them any Assistance, every application which they made thro' me, was uniformly the Forerunner of bitter Disappointment. Had I a Shadow of Reason to think Gentlemen, that Sindea would show less Consideration to Mr. Anderson than I had experienced from the Shah's former Ministers, under Circumstances So much less favourable?

If it be asked why a freer Communication did not exist between Mr. Anderson & me; I will readily own that without the least Diminution of personal Regard, I felt a Degree of Reserve towards Mr. Anderson with respect to every Thing which related to Sindea, from perceiving that our Opinions of his Sincerity could never be reconciled, nor of course produce any Thing but disgust in the Communication.

I know that Mr. Anderson has since asserted, that he neither knew the Purport of the Letter nor the Shoka, and as he does this with the Solemn Pledge of his Word, I will not dispute it; but I must maintain my Belief, that previously to his Declaration, I was well warranted in drawing the

Conclusion which I have recited.

I come now Gentlemen to the most painful Part of this Address :— to attempt removing the Suspicion, which in the Minds of the Members of Administration connected my Recall & the Demand for the Tribute, in the Relation of Cause & Effect : But the Pain which I feel is not from Want of the most clear & perfect Consciousness of my own Rectitude of Conduct ; it arises, first from my Concern that the Hon'ble Board could for an Instant conceive such an Opinion of me ; and secondly from knowing the Difficulty of removing a Suspicion of any Kind when once conceived : Strong Reasons founded in Probability, will go far with the liberal & unprejudiced, but oftener Suspicion, like the poisoned shirt of Hercules, can only be thrown off with the Life of the Wearer. I need not tell you Gentlemen, what universal Experience has proved, that if the most innocent Man in Existence were to be accused of having committed a capital Crime in a distant Place, even tho' his Accuser were under the base predicament of an anonymous Writer, his whole Life might be employed in Vain to refute the Groundless Allegation : Yet, difficult as I know the Task to be, I will attempt it, relying on Truth, & that Justice which is to publick Bodies, what Honour is to private Men, that the Reasons which I shall advance, will meet with candid Consideration.

When the intended Departure of Mr. Hastings was first known in Sindea's Camp, the evil Advisers of Sindea, headed by Rajah Himut Behader, began their Machinations ; Sindea was reminded of his Strength, & of what the World expected from him as the first Man in the Empire : the Paishwa's Claims in the Doab,^a & Cheyt Sing's Restoration to his Zemindary, were represented as Objects of easy Attainment ; and to induce Sindea to adopt their Ideas, his Engagements with the English, were insinuated to be personal, & to expire with Mr. Hastings' Government ; Whether this advice received Countenance from Sindea, must be judged by the Sequel ; a short Time after this, the Governor General's Arzee advising the Shah of the Change of Government was presented to his Majesty, & soon after the Tribute of Bengal became the Subject of Conversation at both Durbars : Whenever I applied for his Majesty's Answer to the Governor General's Arzee, I was answered, that it was ready but waited for a Letter from Sindea to accompany it. Early in March I advised the Governor General of the Reasons assigned for delaying the Reply to his Arzee, but as I was personally a Stranger to him, & consequently not entitled to pass the Bounds of official Correspondence, I did not venture to advise him of the Reports respecting the Demand for Tribute, but left it to Time to discover their Truth or Falsehood. I continued my applications for his Majesty's Answer with the Same Success, 'till the Middle of March, when I at Length obtained it, and found that the Reports which I had heard respecting the Demand for Tribute, were true. What followed has been already related ; & I therefore shall only trouble you Gentlemen with a few Words more on the Subject.

When Men transgress the Bounds of their Duty, I believe it may be said without Exception, that they either are dazzled by the Prospect of

Some tempting advantage, or carried away by the Impulse of some powerful Passion. I beg Gentlemen you will consider if either of those Motives could possibly operate on me in the present case. That I did not either wish or expect to retain the Employment of Resident with the Shah, I Solemnly protest, & appeal for Proof of it to the Letter which I wrote the Governor General under date the 19 of March, which I could confirm by private Ones written to my Friends both here & in Europe : No Interest of that Kind therefore, could have misled me ; & as to any Passion, having been excited by my Removal, I can appeal to the Same Kind of Testimony, to prove that I expected, & was in every Respect prepared, for my Removal, So early as the Month of February ; as will clearly appear by the following Extract of a Letter to Mr. Croftes, dated February the 21.

“I must now trouble you, my Friend with my personal Interests a little, So far as for you to find out & let me know, one very essential Point respecting them : If our new Government is pleased to continue me in my present Employment, I shall very gladly discharge the Duties of it 'till my little Fortune Shall be collected together, and remitted Home ; & I shall feel a proper Sense of Obligation to the Power which gives me that Support; but if on the other hand, Mr. Macpherson Should think proper to appoint Some Friend of his own in my Place, whatever Concern it might give me, I could not say a Single Word in Opposition to it, Since I have no Claim whatever to his Support, & Patronage, he will no doubt think himself justly entitled to choose his own Agents &c.”

But if besides these Motives, there Should be any Man who is capable of believing it possible that I could expect Advantage from the opposite Side from such a Step, I am ready to make the most Solemn Declaration that Religion & Law admits of, that I never directly or indirectly, received the Value of one Single Rupee from the Shah or Sindia, to forward any Purpose of either. But this I will not do, unless the Man who entertains the Suspicion, will Stand forth & avow it, that he may be known both to the World, and to Me.

But setting aside every Idea of Integrity, let me I beg Gentlemen call your Attention to the striking Improbability that any such Overture could have been made by me, either to the Shah or to Sindia : With Respect to his Majesty, I had for near two Years been constantly arguing against the Demand for Tribute, and repeatedly declaring that no Authority in India could discharge One Rupee of it. Respecting Sindia, his Enmity to me as the Person who had advised both the English & Mogul Governments to guard against his insidious Professions & ambitious Projects, had long been So publicly known, that Soon after his assuming his new Office, the Shah himself thought proper to advise, that a Reconciliation should take place between Us ; an Offer which I always declined, alleging that no Difference could Subsist between Us. I beg you will consider Gentlemen, the total Improbability that a Man on the Terms that I was with Sindia, should commit himself by making such a Proposal as that in question ; or that if I had, Sindia should have taken So important a Step, by the Advice of a

man whom he hated, & thought his Enemy.

I am sorry Gentlemen, that I should have been obliged to take up so much of your Time with a Matter relating to me, but the Desire I have to acquit myself in the Opinion of Government, both here & in Europe, rendered it indispensably necessary : Should any Thing in this Letter require Explanation, I shall be very happy to give it either by Writing or in Person.

I have only to add my respectful Request, that this Letter may be transmitted by the earliest Conveyance to the Hon'ble Court of Directors. With the greatest Respect,

Calcutta,
Sept. 9, 1785.

I am, Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your most obedient humble servant,
James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 11 October 1785, No. 7*]

No. 146

TO Edward Hay Esqr., Secretary to the Council General in the Secret Department.
Sir,

In obedience to the Orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, bearing date the 10 of December 1784,¹ and transmitted to me through your Department the 20 of June 1785, I have now the Honor to transmit to you my Correspondence with the late Governor General, while I officiated as Minister to the Court of Dehly ; consisting of 129 Letters in four small Books* ; and accompanied by 76 separate Papers, which are mostly Translations from the Persian, & which form an Appendix to the Correspondence, being referred to in the Margin ; I also send a Letter addressed to the Hon'ble Court of Directors², and a Copy of It for the Perusal of the Hon'ble Council General.

I request that you will lay the whole before the Hon'ble Board with my respectful Request that my Letter to the Hon'ble Court of Directors may be transmitted to them, whenever the Copy of my Correspondence with the late Governor General may be Sent.

Calcutta,
Oct. 6, 1785.

I have the Honour to be Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
James Browne

[*Sec. Cons., 11 October 1785, No. 8*]

*Though the final letter to Warren Hastings bears number 128, there are actually 129 letters inasmuch as two letters have been assigned number 74. The entire correspondence is to be found in one volume,

No. 147

TO the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Hon'ble Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.
Hon'ble Sirs,

In obedience to Your orders of the 10 of Decr. 1784, transmitted to me thro' the Supreme Board at Calcutta, I have delivered to that Board an authenticated Copy of my Correspondence with the late Governor General during the Time of my officiating as the English Minister at the Court of Dehly ; consisting of 129 Letters, including different Instructions, & also an Appendix of 76 Numbers, most of them Translations from the Persian.

Although I could have wished that your Hon'ble Court had thought proper to call on the late Governor General who was the Constituent, rather than on me who was but the Agent, for this Correspondence ; yet I cannot but rejoice at the Opportunity which you have thereby given me, of vindicating my Conduct against such kind of Information, as seems to have misled your Hon'ble Court to believe me capable of forgetting my Duty in the Degree which I must have done, had I formed any Engagements with the Court of Dehly, not warranted by my Orders. The perusal of this Correspondence will Set this Matter in it's true Light, & your Hon'ble Court will perceive, that after having been instructed to report the State of Affairs at the Court of Dehly, & wait for further Orders, that no Such Orders were ever sent : That when I had marked out two plans, the One for the Support of the King alone, the other for the assistance of both the King and his Ministry, & adjusted the Means so as that no Expence would have fallen on the Company ; conformably to the 5 & 7 Paragraphs of my Instructions ; and to that end had made the Professions therein authorized ; I was not able by every Mode of Entreaty to obtain an answer from Government ; nor any Information whether both those Plans were rejected, or either of them approved. You will perceive that by this Disagreement between the Professions and the Actions of our Government, the greatest Doubt of our Sincerity was entertained, not only by a Ministry which was before jealous of the Designs of the English, but even by the King himself who was best disposed towards Us ; & that consequently I, as their Minister, through whom every thing had been transacted, had the utmost difficulty to support my Credit : Yet tho' this Conduct in our Government compelled me to rely on my own personal Management, for that Respect & Confidence which I ought to have derived from my Constituents ; your Hon'ble Court will perceive that I never Suffered the Difficulties with which I was surrounded, to either tempt or constrain me to form any Engagement on the Part of Government, either with the King or his Ministers.

After having conducted myself with this strict attention to my Orders and Instructions, I trust your Hon'ble Court will excuse me, when I express my Concern and Disappointment that you should have believed me capable

of a Conduct So very opposite ; and even allowed Such Force to that Belief, as to threaten me with the Effects of your Displeasure without the smallest Proof that I deserved it. Such Harshness is but a bad Encouragement to those who are truly attached to the Interests of the Hon'ble Company ; & cannot fail of diminishing, if it does not totally destroy, that Zeal for their Service, which is a far better Security than the mere Dread of their Power. With the greatest attachment & Respect,

Calcutta,
October 6, 1785.

I am Hon'ble Sirs,
Your most obedient & most humble servant,
James Browne

A True Copy
James Browne

[*Sec. Cons.*, 11 October 1785. No. 9]

Appendix

MEMORANDUM OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN HINDOSTAN AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1785, TRANSMITTED TO MR. HASTINGS BY MAJOR BROWNE
JANUARY THE 10, 1785.

I will make no Remark on the Indifference with which the English Government beheld the rapid Increase of Sindea's Power by the Conquest of all the Countries between the Mountains of Narwar and the Jumna; because the future Effects of that Conquest, with Respect to the Safety of our Ally the Vizier, were too obvious to have escaped its' Observation; and therefore I conclude that its' Suffering the Establishment of such a Power close to the Viziers Dominions; *and to the very Part of them on which that Power had an unrelinquished Claim*, could only have proceeded from the powerful operation of Necessity against which no Argument can be used. Nor indeed, had our Inactivity proceeded from a less adequate Cause, could it at all avail to discuss it now: The object of this Memorandum is to propose a future Remedy, not to lament over a past Disorder.

After possessing himself of Gualiar, Gohud and Binde, which brought his Territories close to the Jumna; Sindea began seriously to turn his thoughts to getting Possession of the Conquests made by the late Nujif Khan, as well as of the Shahs Person. He clearly perceived, what the English Government had often been exhorted to attend to; that the Shah's Name when supported by a Strong Force, might be most usefully and effectually employed, *to enforce, or to suppress any Claims that He might please*; and He was therefore particularly apprehensive that the English would anticipate him. He set every Instrument to work to prevent this dreaded Event; and used every Argument which his Judgment and Imagination furnished him with, to dissuade the English Government from taking any Part in the Service of the Shah: Yet So barren was Sindea's Plea for taking upon him this exclusive Administration of his Majesty's Affairs, of Arguments to satisfy the English Government, either in Point of Interest or Honour that I have the best Authority for believing, that he advanced for one Reason, *that as the English had engrossed the Vizier to themselves, He (Sindea) might with great Propriety pretend to engross the Shah*: An Assertion so ludicrous, that I should have considered it as a Jest had it come from any other Quarter than it did.

However weak and unconvincing Sindea's Arguments might be; they met with no Disposition to dispute them. The English Government satisfied itself, that *Sindea's Views could not be of a Magnitude or Nature, to affect the Interests of the Company or the Vizier*.

Previously to this, Mirza Shuffy Khan, the Mussalman Sardar, who had succeeded to the Power and Offices formerly possessed by Nujif Khan, perceived the Danger likely to arise to himself from the increasing Power of Sindea close to his Frontier; and tho' he was not without Apprehensions likewise from the English Government, he thought it advisable to attempt forming a defensive Connection with that Government, which he concluded would be acceptable to it, by guarding against the exorbitant Increase of the Marhatta Power near the Vizier's Territories, as well as by excluding the Influence of the French and Tippoo Sahib at Dehly, where they were carrying on a Negociation for the Purpose of assisting the Shah and his Ministry with a Body of Forces to [...] the English and their Allies from the Westward. Accordingly after several Conferences with the English Minister (Major Browne) at the Royal Court, who was then in his Camp; the Draught of such a Treaty was made out and transmitted thro' him to the English Government, with a Latitude to make certain Alterations in the Particulars of the Treaty, provided that the Spirit of it were preserved in Essentials : Mirza Shuffy at the same Time strongly urging the speedy Conclusion of it, and advancing as a Reason for this, his having received Overtures to the same Effect from Sindea, which tho' He might evade answering for some Time, He could not reject, while He remained in Doubt respecting the Intentions of the English.

After a Delay of several Months, an Answer arrived, which amounting to a Refusal of his Offer, Mirza Shuffy proceeded immediately to meet Sindea at the River Chambal, and concluded a Treaty with him, *both offensive and defensive*.

As this Treaty threw into the Scale of the Marhatta Power, the whole Strength of the late Nujef Khan, which has always been estimated at about 60,000 Men with a Train of above 300 Pieces of Cannon, all of which might have been secured to the English and their Allies, by the Treaty proposed to them by Mirza Shuffy, it must always remain Matter of Surprise that his Proposal was rejected, especially as I have Reason to think that the Governor General approved the Design of it. It cannot be said that it would have been inconsistent with the Treaty between the English & Marhattas since there is no Article in that forbidding either Side to form Alliances, *excepting with the Enemies of the other*; and that this was Sindea's Opinion is sufficiently evident by his entering into a Treaty of a much more extensive Nature, and which really might in its operation essentially affect the English & their Allies, without ever thinking of consulting them about it.

He gave at this Meeting also another Instance of his Conviction that the English would not easily be offended, by bringing with him and introducing to the Shazada and Mirza Shuffy, Chyte Sing, the fugitive Rajah of Benaris, a Conduct which I am so far from blaming, that I think we ought to have imitated it in the Case of the Ranah of Gohud some Time after; Since to receive and protect the unfortunate, is always a Virtue and an

Honour, both in publick States, and in private Persons; and therefore I lament that Sindea Should have had So much the advantage of the English in this Respect. This Treaty with the Marhattas, and the Use which Some inconsiderate Speeches of Mirza Shuffy, led the Mogul Sardars to think that He designed to make of it, for the End of reducing them to a greater Degree of Obedience and Subordination, than was agreeable to them, gave great Cause of Apprehension and Disgust; and joined to other Defects in his Behaviour and Government, ended soon after in his Assassination, and the Succession of Afrasiab Khan to his office.

One of the very first Acts of Afrasiab Khan's Administration, was to urge the Subject of the defensive Alliance with the English; and he did this with the greater Confidence of Success, because as he considered Mirza Shuffy's Application to have failed from a Belief that his Majesty was averse to it, so He hoped that his would succeed, from receiving the

Octr.

Shah's warm Recommendation; in Addition to which, he offered the English whatever Conditions they should choose, provided that the defensive Alliance was among them.

Sindea who well knew the Value of such an Ally to the English and who thought that the Exclusion of them from the Shah's Affairs was essentially requisite to secure his future Views in that Quarter, omitted Nothing to defeat this projected Alliance: Thro the agency of Rajah Himat Behader he pressed Afrasiab Khan to enter into the same Engagements with him as Mirza Shuffy had done, using every Argument which that ingenious Agent was capable of inventing, to raise the Importance of the Marhatta, and depreciate that of the English State, and in order to stimulate Afrasiab Khan to a prompt Compliance with Sindea's Views, threatening him with the Demand of the Chout for the Countries conquered by Nujif Khan, if he delayed concluding the Treaty with Sindea 'till he had first endeavoured to form an Alliance with the English.

Afrasiab Khan who considered a Connection with the English as a permanent Security, but had a very different Opinion of one with the Marhattas, was proof against all these Attempts for a considerable Time and even communicated to the English Minister at the royal Court, the Letters of Sindea and his Agents: But after several Months had elapsed without any other Answer from the English Government, than General Professions of Regard he began to think it necessary for him to Secure One

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of the Parties, and he accordingly agreed to Articles with Sindea, similar to those entered into with Mirza Shuffy; but even after this he found Means to delay the Ratification of them for above three Months longer, and did not give it at last, 'till He had obtained the positive and explicit Acquiescence of the

June

English to it.

By this Treaty the Army of Nujif Khan was once more added to the Marhatta Power, but a Prospect was still left to Afrasiab Khan of a defensive One with the English also, which gave great Uneasiness to Sindea, who Notwithstanding the surprising Delicacy shown to him by the English

Government, could not bear the Idea of it's retaining a Power of interfering in the Affairs of the Sultanut (Empire) to which he claimed an exclusive Right; he therefore dispatched Orders to Bow Bucksly, one of his Ministers who was at Lucnow with the Governor General to obtain an *express written relinquishment of that Object to Sindea*, in which however he failed. But he succeeded in another which in it's Effects proved as important to Sindea, and which I shall now explain.

Mirza Jewan Buckt, the eldest Shazada, partly incited by the Uneasiness which he felt from his limited Income, his Exclusion from all publick Business, and the superior Affection which his Father showed to his second Son; & partly by Resentment at the dependant and indigent State in which his Majesty was kept; took the Resolution of flying from Delhy to Lucnow, to urge in Person the Vizier & the Governor

April

General to the Adoption of some effectual Measure for the Relief of his Majesty, of which he flattered himself that he should have the Management, and acquire the Love of his Father for the Service which he should do him; it happened however very differently from his Hope, for the Shah was more displeased with his Flight, than satisfied with the Motives of it; and thought that there was more Evil to be apprehended from the bad Example set to the other Shazadas, than Good to be expected from the Result of his Negotiations: He therefore peremptorily demanded of the Vizier and the Governor General, that his Son should be Sent back to him; at first without any Condition, but afterwards upon the Promise of Pardon for his Offence. This however not appearing satisfactory to the Shazada, and the English and Vizier thinking that they were bound in Honour not to compel the Shazada to return, the Matter was kept in Suspense 'till the Shah resolved to dispatch the English Minister at his Court

May

with several Points in Charge to explain personally to the Governor General and the Vizier, among which was, the absolute Necessity of sending back the Shazada.

After a Month's Residence at Lucnow, the English Minister was ordered back to the Royal Court, with written Instructions for negotiating the Shazada's Return on certain Conditions; and in order to induce Afrasiab

July

Khan to consent to them; & to influence the Shah to do the same, the defensive Alliance for which he was So anxiously desirous, was at Length offered to him; But so cautiously worded respecting the Marhattas that even Sindea himself approved of it, *when it was Submitted to him for his Opinion*: first because it really was unexceptionable respecting the Marhattas, and Secondly, because it conveyed So little Advantage to Afrasiab Khan, that Sindea had no doubt that he would reject it; But he was mistaken, Afrasiab Khan's eager Desire to be connected with the English Nation, was proof even against the cold unfriendly Return that it met with, as well as the evident Partiality shewn to the Marhattas: He undertook the obtaining his Majesty's Concurrence in Some Points, and agreed to other himself; But the Shah peremptorily rejected some of the Parts proposed to him, *with the bitterest Reflections on the Shazada for presuming to*

propose Conditions to his King and Father, as well as on the English and Vizier for supporting him in it.

While this Negotiation was lingering on at Agra, Sindea beheld with extreme Concern that a Possibility still existed of the defensive Alliance taking Place between the English & Afrasiab Khan, on the Condition of his obtaining the Shah's Consent to the Shazada's Proposals : He saw but one way of warding off this Blow and he boldly attempted it ; this was by promising the Governor General thro' Bow Buckschy, *that if He would put the Negotiation of this Matter into his (Sindeas) Hands, he would be answerable to obtain from his Majesty every Point which the English had required. as soon as the Conclusion of the Rains should enable him to proceed to the Presence.*

The Governor General who had found the Board at Calcutta averse from engaging in any Measures at the Court of Dehly, and who had entertained the highest Opinion of the Sincerity of Sindea, readily agreed to his Proposal ; & sent orders to the English Minister at the royal Court, to suspend all further Negotiations 'till Sindea's Arrival.

Sindea having by this Artifice effectually excluded the English from every Pretence to interfere in the Shah's Affairs, proceeded by rapid advances to the Conclusion of his Plan. For this End he ordered Rajah Himut Behader to go to the Camp of Afrasiab Khan, and foment the Divisions among the Mogul and other Mussulman Sirdars, occasioned by a Quarrel between Afrasiab Khan, and Muhammad Beg Hamadany, in which the Friends of each took Part.

This Himut Behader was the Agent whom Sindea before employed to persuade Afrasiab Khan to enter into the Treaty with Sindea, and the Man whose insolent and incendiary Expressions respecting the English Nation, having been represented to the Governor General by the English Minister at the Royal Court, the Governor General thought it necessary to communicate them to Sindea, and to ask if they had been used by his Authority as they had been in his Name ; Sindea positively denied his having authorized Himut Behader to mention the English at all, & spoke of him in Terms very much to his Discredit, *but at the same Time carefully avoided publicly disavowing or recalling Himut Behader's Vakeel from Afrasiab Khan's Durbar, where he still continued to negotiate in Sindea's Name.* However Sindea's Word had Credit against Appearances, & it was believed, *that He despised Himut Behader, and never would think of employing him :* how far Sindea merited this Confidence in his Veracity, the Event will prove.

Himut Behader arriving at the Camp, succeeded so well in his Commission, that he in a short Time persuaded Afrasiab Khan to send a large Force, and afterwards to march himself to reduce Muhumad Beg Khan to Obedience, and at the same Time insinuating that most of the Mogul Sirdars were in the Interest of Muhumad Beg Khan, and would desert Afrasiab Khan in Case of Extremity, that therefore his only security consisted in prevailing on Sindea to

Sept

oin him, who would do it without any View of self Interest whatever. Grossly improbable as this Story was, Sindea was So fortunate as to have Men to deal with who were resolved to believe him : Himut Behader pressed Sindea in Afrasiab Khan's Name to march as Soon as possible to his Aid :

Oct. *Sindea seeing every Thing prepared to his Wish, and not an Obstacle left in the Way of his Views ;* set out from Gualiar ; but lest a Battle between the Mogul Sirdars previous to his Arrival should defeat all his Designs by transferring the Power to Mahummad Beg, in Case of his gaining the Victory ; He wrote to Mahammud Beg to wait for his (Sindea's) arrival, and not to precipitate Hostilities, promising him with Solemn Oaths, *that he was coming as Mediator, and would* compell Afrasiab Khan to grant honourable & satisfactory Conditions. At the same Time thro' the Agency of Himut Behader he assured Afrasiab Khan that he came determined to act in every Thing as he should wish and entreated him therefore not to risk a Battle with Mahummad Beg 'till he should join him.

During this double Deception, he continued to amuse the English with the approaching Execution of their Views in Behalf of the Shazada ; and to persuade the Shah, that he was coming merely for the Support of his Majesty's Authority and the Chastisement of all those who should presume to dispute or evade his Majesty's orders. *Luckily for Sindea every One of the Parties believed him.*

After passing the Boundaries of his Dominions, Sindea began to put his own Garrisons into all the Places that he came to belonging to Mahummad Beg Khan, & refused to deliver them up to the People whom Afrasiab Khan sent to take Charge of them, this gave great Umbrage to both Parties ; but the Credulity of his Opponents did not fail Sindea on this Occasion ; he told Afrasiab Khan that he only took Possession of those Places 'till the Rear of his Army should have passed. Mahummad Beg He assured that he put People into those Places merely to prevent their falling into the Hands of Afrasiab Khan, *and both believed him.*

After Sindea joined Afrasiab Khan, it became more difficult to preserve appearances, Afrasiab Khan was urgent to march immediately to attack Mahummad Beg who was but five Coss off, and called on Sindea for the Possession of the Places seized on from Muhummad Beg's Aumils ; while Mahummad Beg claimed the Execution of Sindea's repeated Promise to mediate his Peace with Afrasiab Khan, or at least to remain neuter, and leave them to the Decision of the Sword : Sindea continued to flatter Mahummad Beg with Promises, and to squeeze small Presents out of him, 'till Afrasiab Khan alarmed by the Fear of Sindea's joining Mahummad Beg, and worked upon by the Arts of Himut Behader, determined to purchase Sindea's Friendship by an Offer of Ten Lacks of Rupees and the Possession of the Country seized upon from Muhammad Beg's Aumils, 'till that Sum should be paid off ; as soon as this was agreed to, Sindea in a Moment turned his Back upon all his Promises & Oaths pledged to Muhammad Beg, and declared that he would march against him in Conjunction with

Afrasiab Khan, if He did not submit at Discretion : Mahummud Beg rejecting this, the combined Armies moved still nearer to him, and the succeeding Day was fixed on for the Attack of his Camp, when Afrasiab Khan was assassinated in his Tent by a Horseman in the service of Zein ul Abedin Khan, Brother to the late Mirza Shuffy Khan : He had been detected in a Similar Conspiracy Six Months before (on the Plea of revenging his Brother's Death, to which He said Afrasiab Khan had been instrumental) & not only pardoned, by Afrasiab Khan, but admitted to his Intimacy, even at the Instant of the Assassination, sitting on the Corner of the Musnud on Afrasiab Khan's right Hand, and the Assassin standing behind his Back.

The Moment the Navaub fell, the Assassin was cut to pieces ; and Zein ul Abedin Khan starting up fled out of the Tent, and hastily mounting his Horse, rode as fast as He could to Sindea, who gave him in Charge to one of his (Zein ul Abedin's) Relations, but shortly after put him in Confinement, and sent him Prisoner to Gualiar. There are several People of Rank and Consideration who affirm Sindea to have been instrumental to this Act, and to have promised Zein ul Abedin the Office of Amir ul Amrah on the Death of Afrasiab Khan ; but Sindea's General Character for Humanity contradicts the Assertion, nor do I believe it to be true.

However it was contrived, Sindea became the Person principally benefited by it : Himut Behader *whom Sindea was supposed to despise* ; was the Person by whose Means he kept Authority in the late Navab's Camp, under the Description of Naib to Afrasiab Khan's Son, a Child of five Years old, for whom Sindea sent from Aly Ghur, & declared that he would get his Majesty to nominate him to the Office of his late Father.

After this, by the Advice of Himut Behader, Sindea resolved on the total Ruin of Mahummud Beg, as the only Man of sufficient Weight & Ability to unite the Mogul Army against the Marhattas ; accordingly the two Armies marched to attack his Camp ; they surrounded him by their immense Superiority, and effectually cut off all supplies of Provisions from his Camp, cannonading him every day for five or Six days, 'till finding his People consulting to desert him in large Bodies, He capitulated thro' the Mediation of Ambagee, who had always espoused his Interest : Sindea engaged not to take any Thing from him but his Cannon, Muskets & warlike Stores, and such Elephants as were not for private Use ; and promised that after he should have delivered himself up, on his (Sindea's) Word, he should be treated with Honour & Consideration and employed in a Manner suitable to his Merit : But the inimical Advice of Himut Behader (who had for Years been at Variance with Mahummud Beg) had greater Weight with Sindea than his Regard to his own Word ; on Mahummud Beg's coming to Camp, his Tent was surrounded with Sindea's Troops ; he was denied Access to Sindea ; and under one Description or other, every Thing that he had of Value was taken from him.

During these Transactions which followed the Death of Afrasiab Khan, Sindea had been urgent with his Majesty to join the Army, from Agra

where he then was, and his Majesty set out accordingly ; Sindea sent a large Force to meet him two Marches from Camp, which Force has been with him ever since, so that *no Person can approach the Shah but with Sindea's Approbation.*

Having acquired this unbounded Influence in the Shah's Affairs, *Let us see how he used it in fulfilling his Promise to the Governor General, respecting the Shazada's Return to his Father.*

The Shazada having at Length agreed to return to the Presence if permitted to carry four or five of the Vizier's Battalions with him, his Father was violently averse to it at first, but at the Time of Afrasiab Khan's Death, the English Minister at the Royal Court having found Means to satisfy his Majesty of the Expediency of his consenting to that Measure, he at Length agreed to it; and both himself, and thro' the English Minister, he repeatedly pressed the Shazada to march as fast as possible to the Presence. Every Difficulty seemed now at an End, at least no new One appeared justly to be apprehended *from the very Person who engaged to remove any that he should find, and who had acquired uncontrollable Power:* But Sindea saw Things in a different Light ; he wisely perceived that the Shazada's coming up with the Viziers Troops was still *an indirect Interference of the English Government in the Management of the Shahs Affairs,* and under such a Head, he feared that the Moguls might still unite again, & defeat all his great Designs on this Side of Hindostan : *his Promises to the Governor General were of little Force in Opposition to this Apprehension, and he therefore without Hesitation or Qualification, caused his Majesty to write his Son, to come to the Presence, but on no Account bring any of the Viziers Troops with him.*

Every thing having thus far succeeded, he proceeded to the Conclusion of his whole Plan, *by obtaining for the infant Paishwah, the Office of Vakeel ul Mutalluck and that of his Naib for himself. This*
 Decr. *office being superior to even that of the Vizier, Sindea by this Step raised the Marhatta Power above every other in the Empire; and by taking this Office for the Paishwah he has given himself good Ground to expect the support of the whole Marhatta State, in Case of any attempt of any of the neighbouring States to reduce his Power; at the same Time from the Paishwah's Youth & the weak State of his Ministry, Sindea is pretty certain of enjoying all the Benefits of the Office himself for many Years.*

This is the plain & positive State of Affairs at present, and as this Memorandum is designed for the Perusal of a Person perfectly well acquainted with the Strength & Resources of the several Powers, I shall enter but little into the Detail of either, beyond simply stating the Proportion which the political Combinations would have born to each other if the defensive Alliance had been formed, with either Mirza Shuffy or Afrasiab Khan, & contrasting it with that which they bear at present.

If the defensive Alliance had taken place, the Proportion would have been

As it now is, the Proportion is

The English		The whole Marhatta State	
The Vizier			
The Moguls	Opposed to	The Moguls	Opposed to
Zabita Khan	The Marhattas	Zabita Khan	The English
The Rajhpoots		The Rajhpoots	The Vizier
The Jauts		The Jauts	

To which may be added that the Allies whom we thus have lost are all Strong in Cavalry, from the Want of which, the Company's Army during last War, was found of very little Use against the Marhattas, whom with the Assistance of a moderate Force of Horse, we could have reduced to our own Terms; and besides this we have lost the Credit of the royal Name possessed of which, we might have treated as Rebels all whom we might have thought our Enemies; whereas we now can scarcely defend our own Possessions against the Marhattas, without being accounted Rebels ourselves: I know it is an European Fashion to make very Light of this, but for my own Part, I take the Shah's Name here, to be of as much Importance as an Act of Parliament in England, *if supported by as Strong a Force.*

There are some Circumstances in this Combination of the Marhatta and Mogul States, which are peculiarly alarming to the English and their Allies, which I will Simply state, since to enter into the Reasoning which naturally presents itself on the Occasion would swell this Memorandum to a Volume.

1st. There is now a complete Connection of Territory from the remotest Parts of the Deckan to the Frontier of the Viziers Dominions; if the French; Tippoo Sahib; Nizam Aly Khan; or the most distant of the Marhatta Sirdars; should be inclined to come to Etawa, Shikohabad, Anupshair or Daranagar (different Parts of the Viziers Frontier) *they would not meet the Opposition of a Single Man, 'till they arrived at the destined End of their March; nor then either, unless the English Troops be differently disposed of from what they at present are.*

If it be said that "these Powers are at Peace with the English & the Vizier, it cannot be supposed that they will break with them;" I beg leave to reply that the *Man who builds his Dependance on the moral Rectitude of Political States, must Expect to be deceived: Philanthropy makes a considerable figure in a moral Tale, but is seldom heard of in the Rage [sic] of Ambition & Conquest. Even among the polished gentle, Christian Princes,*

tho' they sometimes declare that they make Peace "to prevent the Effusion of human Blood," yet that Motive is seldom observed to be sufficiently strong to produce that Effect, till they have received a Defeat; or are threatened with a powerful Confederacy against them; or find the Object of the War less important than they at first supposed it to be. But without looking further than this Memorandum, I presume that the most complete Proof of which human Events are capable may be obtained, that even Sindea (who I believe is as good a Man as any Sirdar in Hindostan) never suffered any Engagement to stand in Competition with his Interest.

That the French had a Design of attacking the English and their Allies from the Westward (of Bengal) is past a Doubt from the Letters which Monsieur de Bussy sent to his Majesty Shah Alum when He arrived on the Coromandel Coast in 1783, and which the English Minister at the royal Court found Means to obtain Copies of, which he transmitted to the Governor General; for in those Letters it appears that the King of France had given Monsieur de Bussy particular Orders to attend to that Object.

This Step is now rendered So much more practicable, by the whole of the intermediate Country, and every Official Superiority, having fallen into the Hands of the Marhattas, that I sincerely hope, rather than believe, that it may not prove too Strong a Temptation for our Enemies to resist. I suffer a real Anxiety on this Subject because I feel the most absolute Conviction, that if at any Time (which God forbid) the invaluable Possession of Bengal should be lost to the English, it will happen by an Invasion from the Westward, & probably the royal Tribute will be made the Plea. I am So certain of this, that I will readily stake half my Fortune against an equal Sum, in the Hands of Trustees, to be decided by the Event whenever the evil Destiny of England Shall bring it to pass.

2d. The Loss of Etawa and it's Dependencies, & their Exclusion from Korah and Allahabad, are Events on which the Marhattas have ever looked back with Shame and Regret: But their intestine Divisions; the War which they have had to support in their own Country; their Uncertainty of the Part which Nujef Khan would take on such an Occasion; and the hostile Disposition of the Rana of Gohud & the other Rajahs between the Mountains of Narwar and the Jumna; have kept the Marhattas from making any Attempts to get Possession of those Countries for above Ten Years. Every one of those Obstacles have now given Place to Circumstances as favourable as they were the Reverse. Their intestine Divisions are composed; the War carried on in their Country has proved to them that from Infantry alone they have little to fear; Nujef Khan is dead and his Offices, Army, and Revenues, in Possession of the Marhattas; and the Rana of Gohud is a Beggar & a Prisoner in Gualiar; while that Fort, and all the Country from Narwar to the Jumna, is in the Hands of Sindea. With such Temptations & Means, to attempt the Retrieval of their Honour and Dominions, it is well worth while to consider, whether their Treaty with the English & Vizier will be of sufficient Force to prevent their doing so.

3d. The Shah's Tribute, *which nothing but the sword has enabled us to withhold* ; and the Division of Rohilcund, which the Vizier holds by the same Tenure ; I do not believe will be seriously and zealously contended for by the Marhattas ; but I think it very probable that the Claims on *them* may be introduced together with that for the Restoration of Etawa Korah and Allahabad to the Marhattas ; in Hopes that the English and Vizier, alarmed at the Magnitude and Extent of the Object, may think it prudent to grant the *Marhattas Claim* on their mediating the Relinquishment of the *other two*.

4. The Similarity of Religion and Manners, and the moderate Exercise of their Authority, for which the Marhattas are remarkable, justly entitle them to a more ready Submission and hearty Cooperation from the Jauts & Rajhpoots, than the Moguls experienced, who were defective in every Thing that could conciliate the Hindoos to them. From this Circumstance the Marhatta Power will become more stable & solid here than that of Nujef Khan ever was. *Even the Seiks may in Time coalesce with the Marhattas, which they never could have done with the Mussulmans.* About 6 Weeks after this was written, an Alliance offensive and defensive was entered into, between Sindea and the Chiefs of the Seiks.

5. Sindea has already projected & will easily effect the Reduction of Bondelcund into a tributary Province. This was effected about three Months afterwards. This will bring him close to the Passes leading into the Province of Allahabad, where at present there are no Troops, either on the Part of the English or Vizier. *In Case of a Breach with the Marhattas, the Pretensions of Chyte Sing might be revived, & instantly seconded by an Invasion of the Benares District from the Station in Bondelcund.*

However disagreeable this Recapitulation may have been, it is by far the easiest Part of this Memorandum, and I am So thoroughly convinced of my Inability to acquit myself of what remains, to the Satisfaction of the superior Judgment to which I refer it, that Nothing could lead me to make the Attempt, but an Apprehension of being classed among those who exclaim against Evils without having a Remedy to propose for them. It appears to me that there are two Evils to be guarded against : First—provoking a Breach with the Marhattas. Second—Lying open to be attacked by them at a Disadvantage, when- ever they shall think proper to sacrifice their Faith to their Interest.

With Respect to the first of these, I think it is sufficiently guarded against by the Terms of the Treaty between the two States, *while they have any Weight* : But if it be thought that any Suspicions may arise in Sindea's Mind of our retaining concealed Resentment *for the Deception put upon us respecting the Shazada* ; there appears no Harm in a specifick Declaration being made to the contrary, *provided it be done in a firm manly Style, and not in Writing.*

But the greatest Security against the first of these Evils, is in Fact included in that against the second ; since I am persuaded that *the Marha-*

ttas will not readily break with the English, if they see them prepared to oppose with Vigour.

This Preparation I conceive to depend on *the judicious Distribution of our Troops on the Frontiers, and on Securing the Aid of certain Allies, in Case of a Breach with the Marhattas & their Allies.*

Our Troops are now disposed of in So injudicious a Manner, that it appears to have been the Work, *not of Design but Chance.* In the *Doab*, we have Stations at Futta Ghur and Khanpoor ; both on one Side the *Doab* the one 60, the other 100 Coss, from the extreme Frontier ; *We have not a Man on the Banks of the Jumna, nor from the Jumna to the Ganges.* On the Frontier of Rohilcund, there are *no Troops but Fizula Khan's, a Chief of whose Fidelity, the Vizier is far from being satisfied, & who if left to himself, it is most probable would be guided by the Motions of Zabita Khan.*

Without expatiating on the Defects of this Disposition, which are too obvious to require it ; I will beg Leave at once to give my opinion of the Arrangements of our Troops proper for the present State of Affairs.

In the Doab

A Garrison of two English Regiments of Sepoys, with a proper Detachment of Artillery, and two Battalions of the Navab Vizier's, in Allahabad ; to be prepared to check any Movements from Bondelcund.

The Western Frontier of the *Doab* being very irregular, from the remote Situation of Anupshair, and the Intervention of Districts belonging to Agra and Dehly ; I think that the Line of Defence should be formed where it may be done with the best Effect to protect Places of Importance, with the Advantage of Contiguity in the Stations to each other, for the End of General Support.

This Line I conceive to be, from Ferockabad to Etawa ; For the Defence of this Line I would recommend, that the Cawnpoor Station be removed, & that the Troops now stationed there and at Futta Ghur, be divided into Three Posts, Viz., Futta Ghur, Menpury, and Etawa ; the Strength of each to be determined by the Commanding Officer in the Field. These Stations will be but 15 Coss, or one forced March, from each other : Futta Ghur & Etawa have already been military Stations, & are too well known to require Description : as to Menpury, I have been assured by an intelligent Man who lived there many Years, that it is a large strong walled Town, with a good Citadel, well supplied with Water and Firewood ; and that the Roads from thence to both Ferockabad & Etawa, are very good. But all this may be accurately ascertained by a Survey. Some of the Viziers Cavalry Should be added to this Army, for the better Communication between the Posts.

Anupshair is so very distant from the Line of Defence, & itself so strong, that I shall say Nothing of it here, but proceed to speak of the Defence of :

Rohilcund.

For this Purpose I would beg Leave to recommend that all the Troops which the Vizier can collect of his own, Horse as well as Foot, be encamped, or cantoned at Amroah ; which Place is equally Distant from Anupshair, and Daranagur, being about 20 Coss from each ; and is also so situated with Respect to Rampoor, as to promise keeping Fizula Khan to his Duty.

A Detachment from this Army to be posted at the Gaut (Ferry) opposite Anupshair, & should be furnished with a Number of large Boats, fit to construct a Bridge over the Ganges at that Place, in Case of an Attack on Anupshair.

The Fords at Daranagur should I think be left to Fizula Khan ; since after detaching a large Force, as He must do, to defend them, Rampoor (his Capital) would be left so weak, that should he be inclined to play the Vizier false, he would be afraid, lest the Army from Amroah should immediately retaliate by seizing on his Capital.

These Military Arrangements, if properly executed, appear sufficient for every Purpose of immediate Defence. The English Administration will of Course make such Movements of the other Corps of the Army as to their Wisdom shall seem fit for the Support of the Army on the Frontier.

It is by no Means so easy to determine on the Alliances which we shall form, because there are scarcely any that are not either too inconsiderable to merit Attention ; or else, by their Relation to the Marhattas, improper Objects to be negotiated with, if we mean to preserve Peace with that State : of the former Sort, I consider the Jauts, Rajhpoots, and Zabita Khan ; of the latter Kind, the Mussulman Sirdars late Afrasiab Khan's.

The only remaining Power for the English and the Vizier to treat with, is the Seik Sirdars ; and I would recommend that they be treated with for a certain Body of Horse on a Subsidy : the Nature of the Treaty to be as follows :

1st. A Monthly Salary to the Chiefs : this to be constant, for such a Term as shall be specified & paid by Bills or ready Money at Dehly.

2d. A specifick Rate per month for every Horseman of One or two Horses, for they have of both kinds : this only to be occasional, when their Service may be required ; to commence from their arriving at a certain Rendezvous, and to cease on their being dismissed at the same Place. To be paid also in ready Money or Bills at Dehly.

Should this Treaty appear advisable, the sooner the Order is sent to conclude it, the better ; for *Sindea is vigilant, and will otherwise once more anticipate us, by forming a Treaty with the Seiks himself.* He did so within two Months from that Time.

But if the English Government should think the Case so pressing, and an ultimate Breach with the Marhattas so infallibly certain, that it will be more prudent to anticipate the Advantages now open to Us, by declaring Ourselves first, *a great Deal may be immediately done by reuniting the*

Mogul Sirdars, which a few Words in the Name of the Shahzada and the Vizier would do now, but Nothing can effect three Months hence.

This Memorandum has been drawn up with little care, since it is little more than an Index to the Correspondence of the English Minister at the Royal Court for two Years past ; only the whole Body of the Shah's Concerns have been omitted, since they alone would make a Volume. It's Design is to show the two great Opportunities which have been lost, of Strengthening the English Possessions to the Westward. The Consequences which have followed that Omission : The future Evils which may be apprehended from the present State of Affairs : And the best Means to guard against them. If this Design is answered, it is sufficient.

NOTES

Letter No. 1

1. **at this time** (p. 1)—Mirza Najaf Khan died on 6 April 1782 and this was the signal for a scramble for power among his lieutenants. Confusion and mismanagement followed and the king was reduced to a pawn in the hands of his unscrupulous servants.

2. **the letters...King's Affairs** (p. 1)—See *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, Nos. 485, 505, 616, particularly the last (received on 21 October 1782) in which the Nawab asked Hastings to appoint "some gentleman at Shahjahanabad."

3. **one notifying...of it** (p. 2)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 575.

4. **the other...Commissioned** (p. 2)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 578.

5. **Presents** (p. 2)—A *nazr* of 101 *ashrafis* was sent (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 991).

6. **visit... to Banaris** (p. 2)—Hastings had arrived at Benares on 14 August 1781 in connection with Chait Singh's affairs, and returned from there towards the end of the year.

7. **letter for...Nujif Khan** (p. 3)—Khadija Sultan Begam, also called Fatima Begam. The letter could not be traced.

8. **Mirza Shuffy Khan** (p. 3)—Mirza Muhammad Shafi Khan, grand nephew and son-in-law of Mirza Najaf Khan. Browne in his letter, 9 August 1783, to Bristow refers to him as grandson of the brother of Safdar Jang, i.e., Mirza Mohsun, husband of Khadija Begam (Najaf Khan's sister). He was thus probably a son of Muhammad Quli Khan (Sec. Cons. 29 September 1783, No. 3). Resenting the appointment of Afrasiab Khan to the regency on Najaf Khan's death (6 April 1782), he entered into an alliance with Khadija Sultan and forced himself into the office of *Amir-ul-Umara* and *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik* (10 September 1782). It was about this time that he married Najaf Khan's daughter. The effect of this coup, however, was neutralised by a counter-move of the court engineered by Latafat Ali Khan, the Oudh commander and Mr. Pauly and Mirza Shafi had to leave the capital (Delhi newsletter, 17 October 1782, Sec. Cons. 22 November 1782, No. 3B). Soon after he effected a combination with Muhammad Beg Hamdani, another lieutenant of Najaf Khan, overcame opposition by treachery and assumed the control of the imperial affairs for a second time (17 November

1782—Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, Nos. 23, 25). Shafi's supremacy was however shortlived. He soon came to quarrel with Hamdani and was treacherously murdered by the latter's nephew on 23 September 1783. For further details see Francklin, *The History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum*, pp. 98-110; Scott, *Ferishta's History of Dekkan*, Vol. II, p. 276; Browne's letter to Bristow, 23 September 1783—Sec. Cons. 13 October 1783, Nos. 24-26.

From the date 25 *Zil-qada* 1196 on the letter equivalent to 2 November 1783, it is evident that Mirza wrote this letter after his flight from Delhi which took place on 9 *Zil-qada* or 17 October.

9. **Repossession of the Districts** (p. 3)—Shah Alam had entered into a secret stipulation for a cession of the provinces of Kora and Allahabad to the Marathas as a price for establishing him at Delhi (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 33). He actually granted a *sanad* in December 1772 or early 1773 after his complete submission to the Marathas in December 1772 (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, p. 75 n) and ordered Munir, then in charge of Kora and Allahabad districts, to deliver them to the Marathas. The English thereupon resumed those two districts.

10. **Faith and obligation of a Treaty** (p. 4)—By the treaty of Benares of 7 September 1773 between Shujaud Daulah and the English, the latter sold them to the former for 50 lakhs of *sicca* rupees (Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, Vol. II, p. 221).

11. **Corps of Latafat Ally Khan** (p. 4)—The corps comprised a body of 5,000 troops and a train of artillery. This had been sent to Delhi by Asafud-Daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, for the service of the King, under Latafat Ali, one of his officers, in March or April 1776.

12. **some of those Refugees** (p. 4)—Samru's troops who were under the command of a German named Pauly.

13. **son of Sumroo** (p. 4)—Balthazar Sombre, a son of Samru by his first wife—a Muslim, or more commonly called Zafar Yab Khan from a title bestowed on him by Shah Alam (Compton, *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan*, pp. 400-10).

Letter No. 2

1. **Latafat Ally Khan** (p. 5)—Nawab I'tiqadud Daulah Bahadur Latafat Ali Khan. Originally he was a commander of the matchlock infantry under Nawab Shujaud Daulah. Early in 1776 he was appointed by Nawab Asafud Daulah as his agent at Delhi court and was sent thither with 6 battalions (5,000 sepoys), 22 pieces of cannon and 200 cavalry (Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 226; Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 68; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 959, 1122). His arrival saved the imperial capital from the calamity which had threatened it in consequence of the destruction of Abdul Kasim's army by Zabita Khan. The Oudh general soon after plunged into the intrigues of the court. During the struggle for obtaining the supreme control of affairs between

Najaf Khan and Abdul Ahad Khan, he at first sided with the latter but as things turned badly for his patron he deserted him and took service under Najaf Khan (November 1779). He soon got an undue ascendancy over his new patron and thus became the virtual ruler of the imperial dominions (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 195). On Najaf Khan's death Latafat joined the camp of Afrasiab Khan, but on the latter's expulsion from power by Mirza Shafi (10 September 1782) he entered into a conspiracy against him and joining his forces with those of Pauly, the commander of Samru's forces, compelled him to leave Delhi (16 October 1782). For his later career *see* note on Mirza Shafi Khan.

2. **Monsieur Paul** (p. 5)—According to Francklin his name was Pauly and he was "a French officer, who commanded the disciplined battalions of the late Somroo" (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 104). But Major L. F. Smith, who most probably knew him personally, states that he was a German. For a biographical note on him *see* Compton, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-78. On Najaf Khan's death Pauly at first enlisted himself under Mirza Shafi's flag but shortly after the latter had obtained the supreme power he joined the court-party and was treacherously assassinated by Shafi's men.

3. **Nujif... with the Shah** (p. 5)—The King had ousted Shafi from the regency on 16 October 1782 with the help of Latafat and Pauly. Najaf Quli had been alienated by Shafi's transfer of his *jagirs* to Abdul Matlab Khan, one of his followers (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 249).

4. **Neighbourhood of Deig** (p. 5)—Following the King's coup Shafi retreated up to Kosi which is about 20 miles short of Dig.

5. **made overtures to Afrasiab Khan** (p. 5)—Aligarh was the *jagir* of Afrasiab Khan. He had earlier left Delhi to save his *jagir* from being plundered by Hamdani.

6. **the Seek's City** (p. 5)—Shafi had made peace with the Sikhs before he had left for Delhi in June 1782. The Sikhs, however, renewed their incursions in September. They ravaged the country from Delhi to Hardwar. They plundered the environs of Delhi up to Sabzi Mandi (Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, pp. 136-37).

7. **Famine at Delhi** (p. 6)—This was the famous *Chalisa* famine of *Samvat* 1840. It embraced the whole country from the eastern edge of the Benares province to the Sutlej. It was felt most acutely in the region between Agra and Delhi and to the west of Delhi, being most intense in the Hissar division, the country then known as Hariana (*Report of the Indian Famine Commission*, 1885, Part III, pp. 13-14). On 3 November, grain was selling in Delhi at ten seers to the rupee (Gupta, *op. cit.*).

Letter No. 3

1. **a Copy of..Letter** (p. 6)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 616. Received on 21 October 1782.

2. **4th of Shouban** (p. 6)—1196 A. H., corresponding to 15 July 1782.

3. **near Relation . . . Excellency** (p. 6)—He was a cousin of Nawab Asafud Daulah, being a grandson of the brother of Safdar Jang Mirza Mohsun, husband of Khadija Sultan.

4. **Mirza Khaleil** (p. 7)—Mirza Muhammad Khalil Khan, a confidant of Najaf Khan (Davies, *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, pp. 23-32). He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the Fort William authorities as well as of the Lucknow government and acted on several occasions as the intermediary between the imperial court on the one hand and the Nawab Vazir and the Fort William Council on the other. Hastings had full confidence in him and had requested him to accompany the Major to the Emperor on the latter's arrival at Delhi (Hastings to Mirza Khalil, 12 August 1782, *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 577).

Enclosure 1 to Letter No. 3

1. **Occurrences** (p. 7)—i.e., the palace revolution of 16 October 1782. For the English translation of a newsletter describing the event see Sec. Cons. 22 November 1782, No. 3B. A slightly different version is contained in Prince Jahandar Shah's narrative (Forrest, *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India: Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, pp. 101-02). For other versions see Francklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-04; Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 274.

2. **Kazim Ally Khan** (p. 7)—Mirza Muhammad Kazim Ali Khan (often referred to as Mirza Kazim in official documents) was *faujdar* of Hooghly under Riza Khan. In March 1782 he was chosen *amin* for the *jaidads* and *jagirs* given to Latafat Ali Khan to defray the expenses of the latter's corps deputed to the imperial court by the Vazir. On Latafat's formal entry into the pay of Najaf Khan his lands were resumed by the Oudh government (March 1782). This would explain why Latafat tried to put Mirza Kazim in trouble during one of his visits to Delhi. Latafat had the support of the Emperor who had come to regard the collections from *jaidads* as imperial dues. As a matter of fact a claim to these *jaidads* was formally made by the Emperor as late as 1784 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1122). See Hoey, *History of Asaf ud Daula*, p. 23; Bristow to Board, 13 November 1782—Sec. Cons. 25 November 1782, No. 5; *India Courier Extraordinary*, App. Vol. II, p. 178.

3. **Mehedy Koly Khan Bahader** (p. 7)—Mahdi Quli Khan. See note under Browne's letter No. 44. See also Bristow's letter, 11 December 1782, in which he says "In my opinion it is owing entirely to her (Khadija Sultan's) protection and the address of Mehdi Cooly Cawn that he (Shafi) has acquired the ascendancy, for the chiefs at alliance with him would otherwise have followed their own views and interests independent of him (Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 25).

4. **Saadabad** (p. 7)—The parganas had evidently been given to Himmat Bahadur in *jaidad* as a reward for the services he had rendered to Najaf Khan (March 1776) in his campaigns against the Jats. On the latter's death the Gossain who had allied himself

with Afrasiab Khan was dispossessed of his lands by Muhammad Beg Hamdani who had made common cause with Mirza Shafi in July 1782 (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 249 ; Bristow to Hastings, 11 December 1782—Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 25). Evidently Latafat demanded the parganas as the price of his allegiance to Shafi. The latter refused to meet this request as he wanted to conciliate both Afrasiab Khan and Himmat Bahadur. In fact in September 1782 he secured an imperial order on Hamdani to vacate the former *jagir* and return to his own post (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 249). That Shafi valued the usefulness of Himmat Bahadur as an ally will be clear from the fact that soon after his second coup he employed him for contriving an alliance with Sindia.

5. **Ashoor Ally Khan** (p. 7)—Ashur Ali Khan, commandant of the gunners of Najaf Khan. In view of Shafi's own version of the story of the palace revolution of 16 October, it is not possible to accept the view propounded by Sir Jadunath (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 251) that Ashur Ali remained loyal to the cause of the Mirza to the end. The newspaper report (Delhi newsletter, 17 October 1782) sent by Colonel Morgan to General Stibbert clearly mentions Ashur Ali as one of the partisans of Latafat Ali Khan (Sec. Cons. 22 November 1782, No. 3B).

Another point to be noted in this connection is Shafi's omission to name Muhammad Yaqub Khan as one of the active participators in the plot against him. According to Prince Jahandar Shah (Forrest, *Selections*.... *Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 101) it was Yaqub Khan who took the initiative in the matter. We are told that he favoured the views of Afrasiab Khan and for this purpose procured the approbation of the Emperor and secretly persuaded M. Pauly and the eunuch Latafat Ali Khan to enrol themselves among the Emperor's servants. Francklin however represents the prince himself as the real architect of the revolution. There is no reason why the statement of a contemporary observer (the prince) who had no reason to suppress his own role in the revolution should not be given preference.

6. **from the Seduction of the above named** (p. 8)—This as already pointed out in the previous note hardly sounds credible. It was not Latafat Khan but Yaqub Khan who under instructions from Afrasiab Khan persuaded the King to sanction the move against Shafi.

7. **8th of this month** (p. 8)—16 October 1782. The revolution took place on the morning of the 17th. The date given by Prof. Sarkar (16th) is evidently wrong (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 250).

8. **I who...Disturbance** (p. 8)—That Shafi was taken by surprise is corroborated by all authorities. Francklin states that Shafi "was that very morning exercising his troops on the sands of the Jumna, when he received an account of the plan for his destruction" (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 104). Delhi newsletter, 17 October 1782, repeats the same.

9. **I sent Daood Beg Khan to them** (p. 8)—The corresponding passage in the *Translation of Persian Letters Received* runs "sent Daud Beg Khan to argue with them but in vain". The sentence "He

alleged an excuse....” would thus mean that he reported to Shafi the explanation offered by the conspirators for the extraordinary measures they had adopted.

10. **as the road....stopped** (p. 8)—It also appears from the Delhi newspapers of 17 October 1782 that M. Pauly posted his troops at the different gates of the fort and....shut them to prevent any person from going out or in, the principal avenues of the city were also secured....to prevent anybody from escaping (Sec. Cons. 22 November 1782, No. 3B).

11. **they having....Jamah Musjed** (p. 8)—The narrative in the Delhi newsletter already referred to states: “The King then mounted a *Tukht Howadar*, or kind of a portable Throne, and proceeded towards the Jameh Musjid; when he got without the Fort Gate, he mounted an Elephant taking his Eldest son Mirza Juan Bukht in the *khuwassi* with him. They were met by Mr. Pool (Pauly), Lutafat Ali Khan, Ashoor Ali Khan and Gunga Ram, each of whom offered his *nazar* which the King accepted and directed them to go to the Jameh Musjid....” Francklin’s statement that the King proceeded to the Masjid after Shafi’s departure cannot be correct.

12. **I took Mujed ud Dowla with me** (p. 8)—Evidently Shafi considered it prudent to keep Abdul Ahad Khan a partisan of Afrasiab under restraint in his camp. It appears from Prince Jahandar Shah’s narrative that Mirza Shafi on his arrival at Kosi resolved on putting Abdul Ahad to death but was only withheld by the latter’s promising to champion his cause (Forrest, *Selections..Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 102). Other persons of importance to accompany him were Mahdi Quli Khan and Shewa Ram.

13. **came out of....the morning** (p. 8)—According to the report in the Delhi newsletter, shortly after 9 o’clock “fresh information was brought (to the King) that Mirza Shafi and the principal officers who continued of his party found the troops exceedingly disaffected. Therefore concluding it....very unsafe moved off expeditiously to the Jamna side....and crossed the river on horseback” (Sec. Cons. 22 November 1782, No. 2).

14. **Kotella of Ferozeshah** (p. 8)—Kotla Ferozshah also known as Kushk-i-Firoz Shah built in 755 A.H. by Firoz-bin Rajjab.

15. **being....from thence** (p. 8)—According to Delhi newsletter, ‘he was attended by 300 horse’ at the time of flight. Francklin (*op. cit.*, p. 104) gives the number of horse as 1,000. The figure given in Bristow’s letter, 4 November 1782, is 5/6000 (Sec. Cons. 22 November 1782, No. 2).

16. **Afrasiab Khan** (p. 8)—Afrasiab’s hesitation to respond to the Mirza’s appeal seems only to confirm the statement of Prince Jahandar Shah that the palace revolution of 17 October was launched in his interest. Apparently he was awaiting the result of the recent commotions. Francklin narrates that Afrasiab Khan was persuaded by Shafi to enter into a treaty with him for a division of the *jagirs* and the offices held by Najaf Khan (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 105). But the probability is that such a treaty was not concluded till after the second coup of the Mirza

when he was in a better position to dictate terms.

17. **Fixed in . . . of Rajapoots** (p. 8)—Bristow reported in his letter, 4 November 1782, "Mahommed Beg Humdanny, his (Shafi's) principal Partizan, has marched to the neighbourhood of Jypore, against Rajah Hemut Behadir, and is said to have near 30,000 men" (Sec. Cons. 22 November 1782, No. 2).

18. **they have given him..Akberabad** (p. 8)—It appears that Hamdani was already in possession of the Agra-Dholpur region. The passage would thus mean that Shafi's opponents offered to confirm Hamdani in his possessions, if he would desert the Mirza's cause. It also appears from the news report of 17 October that the King immediately on Shafi's departure "ordered a letter to be despatched to Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani inviting him to march to Delhi and promising him honours and advancement". According to Prince Jahandar Shah, Shafi ultimately obtained his support "by a promise of the office of Vakaalut Mutulluck" (Forrest, *Selections.. Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 102).

19. **have refused him** (p. 9)— "Khadija Begum continued to hold out. . with the loyal support of her late brother's gunners" (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 251).

20. **a fixed system . . . time** (p. 9)—The reference is to the part played by Najaf Khan in the campaign against Shujaud Daulah and Malhar Rao Holkar. The pension guaranteed to him, however, was discontinued from 1771—the date when the Bengal tribute was also stopped. It would not, however, be correct to say that the relations between the English and the Delhi chief were all along amicable. In 1776 Najaf Khan wounded English susceptibilities by affording shelter to Mir Qasim and in the next year only reluctantly consented to the return of Sardat Ali Khan, the rebel prince of Oudh, to Bengal. Nor could he be persuaded to dismiss Samru and Madec from his services when such a request was made to him by the Fort William authorities. It is also on record that throughout 1778 he was engaged in correspondence, definitely of anti-British character, with the French who were then at war with Britain (*C.P.C.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1266-76).

21. **the deceased Nawab** (p. 9)— Mirza Najaf Khan. Najaf Khan was a Persian of noble birth. He migrated to India in 1746. Najaf at first took service under Shujaud Daulah but subsequently joined the army of Mir Qasim (1762). After the battle of Buxar (1764) he went over to the English and assisted them in capturing the fort of Allahabad and in consequence was guaranteed an annual pension of 2 lakhs of rupees out of the 26 lakhs promised to the Emperor by Lord Clive (1765). "On His Majesty's retreat from Allahabad, he accompanied the Court and from that period he rose . . to the first offices and highest honours in the state." Paymaster General of the imperial forces in 1772, Commander-in-Chief (*sipahsalar*) and Deputy *Mir Bakshi* in 1773, deputy Vazir in 1774, he became after Abdul Ahad's disastrous campaigns against the Sikhs the *Mir Bakshi* and won the titles *Amir-ul-Umara* and *Vakil-i-Mullaq*. He

remained the virtual ruler of the imperial dominions till his death on 6 April 1782 (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 49, *et seq.*; Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 39, *et seq.*; Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 226-73).

Letter No. 4

1. **Shah's Reply to your Letter** (p. 9)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 632.

Enclosure 2 to Letter No. 4

1. **Your Petition** (p. 10)—Browne's petition, dated 12 December 1782, was sent from Lucknow together with a letter from the Governor General and one from Asafud Daulah.

Letter No. 5

1. **marched towards Dehly** (p. 10)—On 6 November 1782 (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 251).

2. **Mahomed Yacoob Khan** (p. 11)—Muhammad Yaqub Khan, also known as Kallu Khawas, was the Emperor's favourite personal servant (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 252).

Letter No. 6

1. **the Nazeer** (p. 12)—Nazir Manzur Ali Khan was the superintendent of the harem.

2. **Abdul Ahad Khan** (p. 12)—Shafi had taken Abdul Ahad along with him when he had fled from Delhi following the King's coup on 16 October 1782.

Letter No. 7

1. **13th of Zilhiga** (p. 13)—of 1196 A.H., i.e., 19 November 1782.

2. **18th** (p. 13)—24 November 1782.

Letter No. 8

1. **friendly Letter** (p. 14)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 634. Bristow may have alluded to this letter or to an earlier one from Sindia referred to in Anand Rao's letter.

2. **his Vakeel** (p. 14)—Anand Rao.

3. **Mr. Anderson** (p. 15)—David Anderson was sent on an embassy to Mahadji Sindia to conclude the treaty of Salbai, 1782. He remained with Sindia as Resident until 1785 when his brother Lieutenant James Anderson who had accompanied him as his assistant, succeeded him.

4. **Sir John Cumming** (p. 15)—Commanding officer of the 2nd Brigade, stationed at Fatehgarh.

Letter No. 9

1. **18 of Zelhiga** (p. 15)—24 November 1782.

2. **The Promise, etc. Beg Khan** (p. 15)—Shafi had promised to give

Hamdani all the Jaipur tribute, half the artillery and other property of Mirza Najaf still left in Shafi's hands, and six lakhs in cash or fresh *jagirs* (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 251, *see also* pp. 256-58 ; Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 108).

3. **Letafut Aly Khan** (p. 16)—These were done on 25 November 1782.

Letter No. 10

1. **Reconciliation .. Service** (p. 16)—There was no real reconciliation. In fact there was a breach between Shafi and Hamdani almost as soon as Shafi was established in power and the latter left Delhi on 10 December 1782 (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 256-57 ; Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 108).

2. **Neabut to the Vizier** (p. 16)—Browne's intention to nominate Shafi Khan to the *niabat* of the *vazarat* was also conveyed to Hastings for his approval (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 616).

Enclosure 3 to Letter No. 10

1. **Because . . . made into Agreement** (p. 17)—The reference is evidently to the royal investment of Shafi with the office of *Mir Bakhshi* for a second time. This happened sometime between 23 November and 11 December 1782 (Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 25).

2. **your coming to . . . proper** (p. 17)—The reason why Shafi was suspicious of the objects of the British embassy is that he might not get the support of the English. *See* Browne's letter No. 39. "... Nasirud Daulah, who was then at the helm of the royal affairs, approached the King and protested against the entry of the Major (Browne) with the English troops. . . ." (*Ibrat-Nama*, Tr., Part II).

Enclosure 4 to Letter No. 10

1. **6th Mohurreean 1197 Hijiree** (p. 17)—12 December 1782. The letter was sent by Browne through his *munshi* Salahuddin Khan who reached Delhi on 27 December, i.e., 21 Muharram 1197 (*Ibrat-Nama*, Tr., Part II) and was received by Abdul Ahad Khan. It would appear from Enclosure 5 (Letter No. 18) that he brought two more letters with him—one from Major Browne and another from the Vazir, both being addressed to Shafi. The latter having left for Agra on the 22nd, the letter could not be delivered to him personally.

2. **royal Orders had twice come** (p. 18)—A reference may be made to *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 491-93 wherein has been reported the conversation Shah Alam had with the Vazir's representative on 17 and 18 April. In the course of his speech the King referred to the Vazir's letter in which he had stated that he and Mr. Hastings were anxious to fulfil his wishes and that they only awaited the receipt of his commands and remarked that people who meant to serve their masters did not wait for orders in critical times and that if the Vazir meant to help him he should save him

from his oppressors, the Mughal nobles.

3. **I should....Vizier also** (p. 18)—In his instructions to Browne, Hastings wrote "You will inform him (the Vazir) that....I have judged it most advisable....that whatever Measures may become necessary.... these should appear to be our united Acts, in which it is also my desire to second and assist his views rather than to be the principal....in any Plan that may be undertaken...." (Letter No. 1).

Letter No. 15

1. **Peace with Poonah is concluded** (p. 22)—The treaty of Salbai which concluded the war between the English and the Marathas was signed on 17 May 1782 and ratified on 20 December of the same year. But Nana Farnavis did not ratify it till 20 February 1783.

2. **the Sicks....Doab** (p. 23)—The Sikhs had been moving in the Doab since September 1782. In January 1783, they approached Anupshahr in the Ganges under the leadership of Baghel Singh and ravaged country in the neighbourhood (Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-38).

Letter No. 18

1. **Letters....and Mirza Shuffly** (p. 24)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 315 (5) and (6).

Enclosure 5 to Letter No. 18

1. **any tranquility....Company's Business** (p. 25)—The actual wording in the letter referred to is "...if it is not Your Majesty's wish that he should proceed, your Majesty having nothing to propose to the English Government in that case he has other Business in Charge which he will proceed to enter on...." (*Translation of Persian Letters Issued*, Vol. XXV, p. 81).

2. **Khuzerabad** (p. 25)—Khizrabad, village 2 miles south-west of Humayun's tomb in Delhi. It is related by Scott that Shah Alam on the news of Mirza Shafi's march to Faridabad was "prevailed upon" by Pauly and Latafat "to encamp....at the place intending to make a stand against the enemy" (Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 275). This is also confirmed by Prince Jahandar Shah in his narrative, though Shafi's account seems to suggest that this took place while the latter was staying at Kosi. In any case the date of this event cannot be fixed later than 17 November (Delhi newsletter, 17 November 1782, transmitted to General Stibbert by Colonel Morgan, Sec. Cons. 15 January 1783, No. 2). It was from here as we learn from the Prince's narrative, that the Emperor against the advice of the former gave his permission to Pauly, Latafat, and Yaqub Khan to go and meet Muhammad Beg Khan Hamdani with a view to settling the terms of peace (Forrest, *Selections... Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 102; Sec. Cons. 15 January 1783, No. 2).

3. **some Causes** (p. 25)—i.e., the palace revolution of 17 October 1782.

4. **his Majesty's departure** (p. 25)—As was only natural to expect, the writer has glossed over the affair which necessitated his departure. This was the treacherous attack on Pauly and Latafat Khan. For details see Delhi newsletter, 18 November 1782 (Sec. Cons. 15 January 1783, No. 2) and Prince Jahandar Shah's narrative (Forrest, *Selections... Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 103).

5. **other Grandees** (p. 25)—Muhammad Beg Khan Hamdani, Abdul Ahad Khan and Afrasiab Khan. The last "seeing Pauly and Latafat ruined, had joined the succesful party".

6. **royal Kindnesses** (p. 25)—"Mirza Shuffeh Khawn was restored to the office of Ammer-ul-Omrah and Mudjid-u'Dowlah to that of Dewan to and the Khalsah Shereefah" (Forrest, *Selections... Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 103).

7. **Sullahuddeen Khan** (p. 26)—Shaikh Salahuddin Muhammad Khan, brother of Khairuddin, the author of *Ibrat-Nama* and *munshi* of Anderson. He was employed by Browne as his *munshi* and wakil on the recommendation of Major Palmer. "He had previously served at the Delhi court and had great influence over the nobles there" (*I.H.R.C. Progs*, Vol. XIV, p. 13). On the termination of Browne's embassy Salahuddin was employed by Anderson to attend on the Mughal Emperor on his part. But as he and his brother were engaged in intrigues with Sindia and the Mughal court behind the Resident's back, both of them were dismissed from the Company's service in 1786 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 487, 498).

8. **soon arrive at Akbarbad** (p. 26)—Mirza Shafi actually took his leave of the Emperor on 22 December 1782.

9. **Settlement of the Kingdom** (p. 26)—This was the ostensible object of his march to Akbarabad, the real object being the reduction of the power of Muhammad Beg Hamdani (Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 31) who was at this time in possession of the provinces of Agra, Dholpur and the adjacent districts, commanded an army of above 30,000 men and had entered into a league with the Rana of Gohad (Bristow to Hastings, 11 December 1782 and 13 January 1783, Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, Nos. 25, 31). This would explain why the Mirza had suddenly softened his attitude towards the English. It is interesting to note that he was simultaneously at this date corresponding with Mahadji Sindia for forming an alliance with him (Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 31).

Enclosure 6 to Letter No. 18

1. **Beghum Sister of the Nawab Nejif Khan** (p. 26)—Princess Khadija Sultan (also known as Fatima Begum), wife of Mirza Mohsun (brother of Safdar Jang). She was a woman with a tremendous personality and on her brother's death took active interest in the politics of the court. Her political career received a rude setback in the murder of her protegee, Mirza Shafi. But she made a last bid for power on the death of Afrasiab Khan. She offered her daughter in marriage to Mirza Sulaiman Shikou,

whom she wanted to place at the head of affairs as her protege. This came to nothing and after this failure she almost passed out of history. See Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 106 ; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 481, 493, 598, 788, 881, 1533; Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 25.

2. **Nawab's Letters** (p. 26)—The reference is to Warren Hastings's letters to Shah Alam and Khadija Sultan, *vide* para. 5, Letter No. 18 of Hastings's instructions.

3. **come towards Akberabad** (p. 27)—Mirza Shafi was encamped at Dig about 50 miles from Agra, sometime about 13 January 1783 (Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 31). The letter must have been addressed sometime after this date.

Letter No. 20

1. **Letter from the Nabob Mujed ul Dowlah** (p. 28)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 315 (8).

Enclosure 7 to Letter No. 20

1. **Royal Shooka** (p. 28)—This is the letter which Abdul Ahad Khan refers to in his letter to Browne (*vide* Enclosure 8 to Letter No. 21) as having been delivered to Salahuddin Khan and which must have been addressed some time after 27 *Safar* (2 January 1783).

2. **Mirza Solyman Sheko Bahader** (p. 28)—Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Shah Alam. He accompanied Mirza Shafi in his march to Agra in order "to give sanction" to the latter's measures (Bristow to Hastings, 13 January 1783, Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 31).

Enclosure 8 to Letter No. 21

1. **27th Suffer** (p. 30)—27 *Safar*, i.e., 2 January 1783.

2. **from 10 or 12 years** (p. 30)—i.e., from the date when he became the Deputy Vazir (22 May 1773) and first came in contact with the English authorities. His correspondence with the English officers (all of which have been published in the *C.P.C.*, Vols. IV-VIII) is as a rule marked by his solicitude for the English. It is, however, doubtful how far these friendly professions coincided with actual facts. It is on record that Abdul Ahad wanted to use Mir Qasim as a pawn in order to make the English come to terms with regard to the Bengal tribute (*C.P.C.*, Vol. IV, No. 912) and he actually corresponded with the Marathas then at war with the English for military assistance (*Ibid.*, Nos. 112, 1493).

3. **I consider myself . . . said Nawab** (p. 30)—For letters expressing a similar sentiment see *C.P.C.*, Vol. IV, No. 411 and *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 831.

4. **Colonel Muir** (p. 30)—Grainger Muir (Captain, 1764; Major, 1768; Lieutenant Colonel, 1769; Colonel, 11 June 1779; resigned, December 1784). He became the commander of the Fatehgarh detachment early in 1780 and it was while he was occupying this position that he negotiated a

treaty of peace with Mahadji Sindia on behalf of the East India Company (1781). See *C.P.C.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1964-65; Vol., VI, Nos. 45, 146, 215, 267. For a recorded instance of Abdul Ahad's communication with Colonel Muir see *C.P.C.*, Vol. V, No. 1211.

5. Colonel Polier (p. 30)—Anthony Polier (Cadet, 1758; Ensign, 1759; Lieutenant, 1761; Captain, 1763; Major, 1766; Lieutenant Colonel, April 1782; died, 1794). He got an appointment as the Chief Engineer to the Bengal presidency in 1764, but early in 1773 his services were lent to Shujaud Daulah. In December 1773 he was sent by the Vazir to assist Najaf Khan in storming the fort of Agra but this being disapproved of by the majority in the Council he was peremptorily recalled to the presidency (1775). Thereupon he resigned his services but in June 1780 re-entered the employment of the Vazir as the Chief Engineer and Architect. He was re-admitted into the Company's service on 18 March 1782. During his stay in Delhi to help Najaf Khan he wrote several letters to Colonel Ironside, giving a succinct account of the contemporary politics in Delhi which have been published in *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800 (Pub. Cons. 14 September 1775, Nos. 6, 7; 30 October 1775, No. 7; 22 June 1780, No. 8; 18 March 1782, No. 18; *C.P.C.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 239, 1022, 1702).

6. unfortunate Event (p. 30)—The reference is to his imprisonment by Najaf Khan which took place on 15 November 1779 (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 180).

7. Khan (p. 30)—Salahuddin Khan.

8. the said Nawab . . . I am (p. 30)—i.e. Hastings.

Letter No. 22

1. 20 Pieces . . . to Hamdany (p. 31)—For the promises made see Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Letter No. 23

1. that Troops . . . our Government (p. 32)—The King's letter asking for troops cannot be traced.

Enclosure 9 to Letter No. 23

1. 6th Rubbee ul awul (p. 32)—*Rabial-Awwal*, i.e., evening of 8 February. Major Browne actually left Farrukhabad on this date as he wrote to William Hodges stating that he expected to reach Etawah on the 9th (Hodges, *Travels in India*, p. 102).

2. soon arrive at Akberabad (p. 32)—The Major reached Agra on 23rd (Hodges, *op. cit.*, p. 113).

3. good Services . . . Allegiance (p. 33)—Hastings wrote of Major Browne in his letter, 12 August 1782 "he is a Gentleman of great worth and abilities, a faithful Servant of the Company, and my Particular Friend; . . . and requested the King to consider the Major to be 'one of your most faithful servants'" (*TI*, Vol. XXV, p. 86).

Letter No. 24

1. **my Arrival...** **Mirza Shuffy Khan** (p. 33)—Presumably on 24 February 1782.

2. **the Seiks.. Vizier's Frontier** (p. 33)—They plundered Aligarh and Bulandshahr districts.

3. **Places belonging to Afrasiab Khan** (p. 34)—Aligarh and Jaleswar districts were held by Afrasiab Khan (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 238).

4. **services.. to his Majesty** (p. 34)—When Shah Alam (then Ali Gauhar) had invaded Bihar in 1760, Kamgar Khan, a Bihar zamindar, had sided with him.

Letter No. 26

1. **to the very Walls of the Dehly** (p. 37)—On 8 March the Sikhs lay encamped near Barari Ghat on the Jumna. They then attacked Malika Ganj and Sabzi Mandi which they set on fire, and killed people at Mughalpura (Delhi Chronicle, 8 March 1783, *see* Sec. Cons. 23 June 1783, No. 23).

2. **20 Lacks... Madajee** (p. 37)—Fifteen lakhs of rupees were paid to Mudhoji to induce him to recall his forces from Bengal (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 269).

3. **Rana had forfeited.. by his Conduct** (p. 37)—According to Hastings, "His conduct to our Government has been invariably marked with deception, infidelity, and ingratitude.." (Hastings to Wheler, Lucknow, 22 April 1784).

4. **his alliance with the English** (p. 37)—Hastings concluded the treaty with the Rana of Gohad in 1779 in order to create a diversion in North India against the Marathas (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 267).

Letter No. 27

1. **The Enclosed Papers** (p. 38)—It is not known what papers are referred to. *See* in this connection intelligence from newspapers from Delhi, 8 March 1783 (Sec. Cons. 23 June 1783, No. 23).

2. **I have.. Mr. Bristow** (p. 38)—*See* Sec. Cons. 23 June 1783, No. 27.

3. **the Jauts.. Daud Beg Khan** (p. 38)—Shafi's troops under Daud Beg Khan received a check at the hands of the Jats and suffered a loss of one of his European commanders called Sewan. (Browne to Bristow, Sec. Cons. 23 June 1783, No. 27).

Letter No. 28

1. **the 1st** (p. 39)—Presumably 1 *Rabi*us *Sani* 1196 A. H., corresponding to 15 March 1782.

Letter No. 29

1. **Aly Ghur** (p. 40)—Aligarh belonged to Afrasiab Khan's *jagir*. Afrasiab had come here with his army from Agra to join the Gossains and to

drive away the Sikhs from their territories (Colonel Morgan to Bristow, Sec. Cons. 23 June 1783, No. 18).

2. **a Letter from the Amir ul Aumrah** (p. 40)—Not traceable.

Letter No. 31

1. **The Seiks..from Dehly** (p. 44)—A settlement having been reached with the Delhi court by which the Sikhs received a cash present of three lakhs of rupees, their main body retired from Delhi on 12 March (Gupta, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 142).

Enclosure 13 to Letter No. 32

1. **2d Jemmadie ul Awul** (p. 47)—2 *Jumadal-Aumcal*, equivalent to 5 April 1783.

2. **friendly Epistle** (p. 47)—This as well as the 'royal Shookah' accompanying it was acknowledged by Hastings in his letters to the King and Abdul Ahad Khan (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 759-60).

3. **the disturbance..Seiks** (p. 47)—The reference is to the invasion of Delhi and the adjoining districts by the cis-Sutlej Sikhs during the early month of 1783. These Sikhs had agreed in 1781 to live as peaceful subjects of the empire on Najaf Khan's having granted them autonomy. The word "conquered" appears to have been used euphemistically. They took advantage of the commotion following Najaf Khan's death to resume their predatory career. It appears from contemporary records that they were already on the move in November 1782 and by the middle of January had overrun the entire territory up to Anupshahr, carrying ravages and destruction within 4 *coss* of Delhi. Their advance along the Ganges continued till the second week of March during which period they burnt and pillaged Firozabad and Sadabad, Kasganj, Soron and Badaria and penetrated as far down as Aliganj. Thereafter they bent their way towards Delhi and drawing near it, plundered Sarai Rohilla and Badarpur and demanded *Rakhi* for the Emperor. But having met stiff resistance from Majdud Daulah and on hearing of the combination between Zabita Khan and Zainul Abidin as well as of the advance of Colonel Knudson towards the affected area (4 March) they beat a hasty retreat. But the area was not completely free of the Sikhs till the end of April (Foster, *Travels*, p. 233; *I.C.E.*, Vol. II, p. 241, Vol. III, p. 65 n; Sec. Cons. 23 June 1783, Nos. 18, 23, 26-27, 34 B-D, 36 B-H; Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 32; Hodges, *op. cit.*, p. 132).

4. **Furzund Khan** (p. 47)—Probably Ziyaud Daulah Tahawwar Jang Farzand Khan, second son of Munirud Daulah I, Shah Alam's minister during his residence in Allahabad.

5. **5 years** (p. 47)—France had declared war on England in March 1778.

6. **King's Ships and Troops** (p. 47)—The reference is to the naval reinforcements arranged by the British early in 1781 for the prosecution of war in India. Some of the transports with troops under the command

of Colonel Mackenzie arrived at Bombay on 22 January 1782, but three vessels of the line with the major part of the troops under General Medows and Colonel Fullarton joined Sir Edward Hughes's squadron off Madras on 12 February 1782. On 19 October the latter was further reinforced by six sails of the line under Sir Richard Bickerton (Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, p. 178 n; Buckland, *Dictionary of National Biography*, note on Sir Edward Hughes).

7. **Revenues....Surat** (p. 47)—The accounts seem to be confused. On the eve of the first Maratha war the English possessions south of the Vindhya consisted only of Surat, the Isle of Bombay, the fort of Bankot, the Northern Circars, Fort St David and some territory near Fort St George. It does not appear that any of these areas fell into the hands of the enemy except the district round Madras.

8. **which is rate....Gentlemen** (p. 48)—The reference is evidently to article 1 of the treaty concluded on 19 September 1781 with the Vazir, according to which the pay and allowances of the regiment of sepoys which was to protect the office, treasury and person of the Resident at Lucknow were fixed at the rate of Rs. 25,000 per month. The brigade which was placed at the disposal of the Vazir himself was exclusive of this regiment and consisted of "one regiment of Europeans, one company of artillery and six battalions of sepoys". This was being paid for at the rate of Rs. 26,000 per month.

9. **Chiefs of the South** (p. 48)—i.e., Mudhoji Bhonsle, the Ministerialist at Poona and Mahadji Sindia.

10. **Nawab Vizier** (p. 48)—In the treaty of Salbai the Peshwa and his allies were required to "maintain peace towards....Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowlah Behauder"—Article 10 (Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. VII, p. 41).

11. **Mirza Zainulabdin Khan** (p. 48)—He must have been in the Delhi region in connection with his operations against the Sikh marauders.

Letter No. 34

1. **Letter from Himut Behador** (p. 53)—Cannot be traced.
2. **Arzee for the Shah** (p. 53)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 834.
3. **4th of Rubbi ul Sani** (p. 53)—9 March 1783.

Enclosure 14 to Letter No. 34

1. **Draught from Mirza Shuffy** (p. 54)—See Enclosure 15, p. 58. Article 1 corresponds to para. 2 of Enclosure 15; article 2, *ibid.*, para. 3; article 3, *ibid.*, para. 4.

2. **where his....Notice** (p. 55)—This appears to be contrary to Hastings's views that the Company should, as heretofore, appear as the supporter of his dignity, not a solicitor for his influence. See his instructions to Browne, Letter No. 1.

3. **as far as** (p. 55)—The context makes it clear that the word is

intended to mean 'as far as and including'. Firozabad, Harduarganj and Atrauli, which according to the author of the original draft marked the eastern frontiers of the imperial dominions, were clearly within the Emperor's territories.

4. **Patiallah** (p. 55)—Patiala. It is doubtful if the Emperor had anything but a theoretical claim to this region. Mirza Shafi could not reclaim any land further north than Karnal during his campaigns against the Sikhs in 1781 and in the pact of July 1781 the *de facto* sovereignty of the Sikhs over the regions north of Panipat was virtually recognised by Najaf Khan. There is nothing on record to show that there was any appreciable change in the position during Mirza Shafi's regency. Foster who wrote in April 1783 fixed Karnal and Panipat the eastern-most limit of Sikh suzerainty as it existed in 1782 (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

5. **Ferosabad** (p. 55)—Firozabad, eastern-most *tahsil* in the *suba* of Agra. See notes, Enclosure 1.

6. **Hulwa Gunge** (p. 55)—Mirza Shafi's draft reads Huldwagunge. The place is to be identified with Harduaganj, town in Aligarh district, lying six miles east of the town of Aligarh.

7. **Attarowly** (p. 55)—Atrauli, north-eastern *tahsil* of Aligarh district.

8. **Joypoor** (p. 55)—Jaipur. The contemporary ruler Sawai Pratap Singh (1778-90) had been compelled by Najaf Khan to reaffirm his allegiance to Shah Alam (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 334-35).

9. **Jadpoor** (p. 55)—Jodhpur. There is nothing on record to show that the Delhi chiefs had any direct dealings with the state at this date. The last rulers who recognised the supremacy of the Delhi Emperors were Abhai Singh and Bukht Singh (see article by Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, "A letter of Maharaja Abhai Singh of Mewar", published in *I.H.R.C. Progs*, Vols. XIV and XV). Of course Jodhpur like Jaipur, Jaisalmer and Bikaner was included in the Mughal *suba* of Ajmer. The name of the contemporary ruler was Bijai Singh (1753-93).

10. **Karowley** (p. 55)—Karauli, state in east Rajputana bordered by Jaipur, Dholpur and Bharatpur. The contemporary ruler was Manikpal (1772-1804). Early in 1784 he was obliged to submit to the exactions of Hamdani who posed as the agent of the Delhi Emperor. During Sindia's campaign of 1787 against the Raja of Jaipur he offered to help the former (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 1572).

11. **Boudawar** (p. 55)—Mirza Shafi's draft reads 'Behudawar'. The place roughly corresponds to the present district of Bhind in Gwalior, locally known as Bhind-Bhadawar (Luard, *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 207). The name of the contemporary chief was Bakht Singh, who during the first Maratha war allied himself with the English (*C.P.C.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1778, 1806, 1876, 1961; *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 626, 1138) but his estates were confiscated by Sindia in 1784. For a full history of the family see *Manual of Titles for the United Provinces*, p. 30.

12. **Saharanpoor** (p. 56)—Saharanpur. The place was ruled by Zabita Khan practically as an independent chief.

13. **Delhi Rupees** (p. 56)—i.e., issues of the *Darul Khilafat*, mint of Shahjahanabad. A representative collection of these coins belonging to the reign of Shah Alam is to be found in the cabinets of the Indian, and British museums. Their weight varies from 166 to 174 grams. It is probable that the original weight of the issues was not much above 175 grams (Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. III; Browne, *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*; Prinsep, *Useful Tables*).

14. **Patna Sonat** (p. 56)—A *sonat* or more properly *sanwat*, from Arabic *san* (year), a coin which has passed the year of its currency (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 775). As the Ajimavad mint at Patna was closed in 1775 all issues of this mint must have become *sanwats* by the date of Browne's draft. From the extant collections of Patna issues in the Indian, the British and the Lucknow museums, it appears that their weight varied from 175 to 178 grams. See the *Catalogues* referred to in the previous note.

15. **Article 4th** (p. 56)—Native cavalry had become out of date in the Company's army. Except for the body-guards of the Governor General and a regiment of native horse (600 strong) and a body of 500 so-called Kandahar horse which had accompanied Goddard in his march to Surat, the Company had been without any cavalry of its own since 5 May 1783. It is also worthy of noting that in 1786 the Company's cavalry was further reduced to 2 *risalas* of 80 men each (Cardew, *A Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army*, pp. 51, 53).

16. **90,000 Delhi Rupees** (p. 56)—There was no fixed rate of paying cavalry troops during this period. It appears from the statement of the Vazir's military establishment for 1190 A.H. that the pay of the horsemen composing a *risala* varied from as low a figure as Rs. 16 per month to as high a figure as Rs. 420. The rate of pay fixed by the Company in July 1760 was Rs. 50 per horseman per month (*I.C.E.*, Supp., Vol. III, p. 307).

17. **Mogul Horse** (p. 56)—The Mughals were celebrated for their brilliant horsemanship. Their superiority to European horsemen in skirmishing was recognised by contemporary authorities (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 188, 234).

18. **Owners** (p. 56)—Native cavalries at this date were composed of two elements: the *silhdars* who provided their own horses, arms and accoutrements and *bargirs* or troopers hired by the leaders of an army and provided by them with horse and equipment (Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 47). Generally the trooper would bring his own arm and horse (Orme, *Fragments*, p. 418). Contemporary sources do not seem to throw any light on the existence of a custom of compensating the owner for the loss of his horse.

19. **Article 6th** (p. 57)—In drawing this article Major Browne had

evidently in his mind the conduct of Najaf Khan who had carried on an intrigue with the Marathas and the French while they were at war with the English and had offered protection to Mir Qasim and taken Samru and Madec into his service (*C.P.C.*, Vol. V, Nos. 203, 1266-72, 1275-76).

Letter No. 36

1. **a Letter from the Rajah of Jypoor** (p. 62)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 809.

Letter No. 37

1. **Navab Afzul Khan** (p. 62)—Nawab Afzalud Daulah Bahadur Sardar Jang, uncle of Zabita Khan. In 1784 when Browne had gone to meet the Governor General at Lucknow, Afzalud Daulah represented his case through him and sought an interview with Hastings which was refused (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1220).

Enclosure 16 to Letter No. 37

This has not been copied in the volume of *Translation of Persian Letters Received*.

1. **Navab Mahomed Afzel Khan** (p. 63)—It appears that he played a prominent part in Zabita Khan's wars with the Delhi chiefs. After Zabita's death he joined Mahadji but during the Lalsot campaign deserted his cause and went over to the Jaipur army (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1544, 1573). It appears from a letter of Hastings, 21 July 1784, that the Nawab sent two vakils to the former during his stay at Lucknow for pressing his cause (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1220) but nothing came of it.

2. **Districts....Ganges** (p. 63)—i.e., the trans-Gangetic possessions of Najibud Daulah's family which had been annexed to Oudh by Shujaud Daulah after the battle of Miran Katra.

3. **Khojah Ain ul dien** (p. 63)—Khawaja Ainuddin (d. 1209 A.H.). According to Abu Talib he was appointed Collector of Bareilly in 1779 and was dismissed in 1784 on Bristow's persistent representations (Hoey, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45). From the contemporary records, however, it appears that he was the collector of Rohilkhand with his headquarters at Daranagar (*I.C.E.*, Supp., Vol. II, p. 296; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 142). Sometime after his dismissal he appears to have been appointed the *amil* of Gorakhpur (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 1303).

4. **Deductions....Troops** (p. 63)—Ainuddin was required to pay only 27 lakhs of rupees to the treasury in accordance with the *kist-bandi* for the year 1190 A.H. (*I.C.E.*, Supp., Vol. II, pp. 296, 302-03).

5. **Sherecote** (p. 64)—Sherkot, pargana in Bijnor district. The place was wrested by the Rohillas in 1748 from the Vazir of Oudh but was recovered by Shujaud Daulah after the battle of Miran Katra (1774).

6. **Dhampur** (p. 64)—Dhampur, south-eastern *tahsil* in Bijnor district. This along with Sherkot was wrested from Safdar Jang by the Rohillas in 1784 (Hamilton, *Rohillas*, p. 84).

7. **Nuggeena** (p. 64)—Nagina, *tahsil* in Bijnor district. The Rohillas held it between 1748-74.

8. **Biddipoor** (p. 64)—Perhaps the copyist mistook it for Burhepur, a pargana in Dhampur *tahsil*.

9. **Jehaloo** (p. 64)—Probably Jhalu, which is the old name for the present pargana of Daranagar. See *Bijnor District Gazetteer*.

Enclosure 18 to Letter No. 40

1. **Sadiepoor** (p. 69)—Sadiqpur, village in the Dholpur state. Browne is evidently wrong in fixing the distance of the place from the Chambal as 8 *coss*, the actual distance not exceeding $3\frac{1}{2}$ *coss* or 7 miles. See his remarks against 26 June.

2. **Ambajee** (p. 69)—Ambaji Inglia, Mahadji Sindia's officer, who played an important part in his master's negotiations with the Delhi sirdars. For his services to Mahadji see *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. I.

3. **Gualier** (p. 70)—Gwalior. Sindia evidently left his main army engaged in the siege of the fort.

4. **Bow Gaut** (p. 70)—Bhao Ghat. It appears that Shafi's halting place was near Dholpur, on the north bank of the Chambal (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 260).

5. **28th** (p. 70)—According to Sarkar (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 260) Sindia paid his first visit to the Mirza on the 27th.

6. **Cheysing** (p. 70)—Chait Singh, ex-Raja of Benares. For the relations between Sindia and Chait Singh see Anderson's letter to Hastings, 27 March 1783 (Sec. Cons. 27 April 1783, No. 10) wherein the latter stated "Sindia has always treated Cheyt Singh with attention and (I fear) he has been too liberal in his promises. He felt himself bound in honour to do something for him, yet he felt equally the force of the obligation which he had entered into...not to interfere in his behalf with you". See also *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 308, 310.

7. **the Begum** (p. 70)—Khadija Sultan, Najaf Khan's sister.

8. **2nd** (p. 70)—According to Sarkar (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 260) Sindia was presented to the Prince on 30 June, a date which is evidently wrong.

9. **Mr. Anderson** (p. 70)—David Anderson. See note under Letter No. 8. See also Sec. Cons. 16 December 1783, No 18; Introduction to *P.R.C.*, Vol. I; Luard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 333; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 275-76, 283, 316-17, 516.

Enclosure 19 to Letter No. 41

1. **Lucky Patt Roy** (p. 74)—Lakhipat Rai referred to by Browne as "the public vakil of Seik Sardars...at Delhi". Is he identical with *Diwan Lakpat Rai* who acted as the guardian of Ranjit Singh during his minority? See Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 15.

2. **Lalla Ram Sing Joo** (p. 74)—Lala Ram Singh had been sent by Lakhipat Rai as an emissary to Browne.

3. **Khalsajee** (p. 74)—Khalsaji, i.e., the confederacy of the Sikhs.

4. **Badshah Sing** (p. 74)—Jassa Singh was nominated the leader of the *Dal Khalsa* by Nawab Kapur Singh and on the capture of Lahore in November 1761 was declared as *Padshah* by the Sikhs (Gupta, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 51, 158).

5. **Muckhull Sing Jeo** (p. 74)—Probably a mistransliteration of 'Baghel Sing Jeo'. See H.R. Gupta's article entitled "The Beginning of Diplomatic Relations between the Sikhs and the British Government in India" (*I.H.R.C. Progs*, 1942).

Enclosure 20 to Letter No. 41

1. **24th Jemadiulawool** (p. 74)—24 *Jumadal-Awwal*, equivalent to 27 April 1783. The letter was thus written long before Mirza Shafi's journey to the banks of the Chambal for meeting Sindia.

2. **Sydepore** (p. 74)—Saidpur, a village at a distance of 7 miles from Fatehpur Sikri. Hodges in his *Travels of India*, pp. 129-32, says that Mirza Shafi's camp moved to this place on or about 27 March. It was at this place that Hodges took leave of Major Browne on 28 April. It is thus clear that the Mirza did not remove his camp from here till sometime after April.

Enclosure 21 to Letter No. 41

1. **27th and 28th** (p. 76)—27 and 28 *Jumadal Awwal* 1197 A.H., corresponding to 30 April and 1 May 1783.

2. **Selah ud dien Khan** (p. 76)—Sulahuddin Khan. See Enclosure 5, notes.

Enclosure 22 to Letter No. 41

1. **Perwanneh** (p. 76)—See Enclosure 19.

2. **Atak** (p. 76)—Attock.

3. **Rai Ram Sing** (p. 76)—Apparently the same person as Lala Ram Singh. See Enclosure 19.

Enclosure 23 to Letter No. 41

1. **Gussul Sing** (p. 77)—Same as Kussul Singh, chief of the Faizullahpuria *misl* and a nephew of Nawab Kapur Singh. He had extensive territories in the Jullundur Doab and Sirhind (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 465).

2. **Hircarreh**s (p. 77)—*Harkara*, a messenger, a courier (derived from *har*, 'every'; *kar*, 'business'). See Wilson, *Glossary*.

Enclosure 24 to Letter No. 41

1. **6th Ramzan** (p. 77)—i.e., 5 August 1783.

Enclosure 25 to Letter No. 41

1. **Laleh Lukbut Rai** (p. 78)—Lala Lakhipat Rai. He and Mangal Singh were the two vakils of Sikh chiefs.

2. **Kelal** (p. 78)—*Kalal*, distiller of wine. Jassa Singh's father Dayal

Singh was a *kalal* of village Ahlu, near Lahore (Gupta, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 51n).

3. **Cream of Omrahs** (p. 79)—The intention of the writer was not only to flatter the addressee but also to throw a hint that howsoever great among his people, he was only an *umara* of the Mughal Emperor.

Enclosure 26 to Letter No. 41

1. **Ahmed Shah** (p. 79)—Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Durrani monarch. His failure to suppress the Sikhs during his ninth invasion (1766-67) and the disastrous result of his tenth and last invasion (1769) had compelled him and his son Timur Shah to acquiesce in the *de facto* sovereignty of the Sikhs in the Punjab. As Najibud Daulah, the Mughal regent, had been acting as an agent of the Durrani monarch since Panipat, the Sikhs might rightly claim that the Durrani's withdrawal of arms from the Punjab meant also the liquidation of all Mughal claims to that region. What the writer evidently hints at here is that the Sikhs would never agree to recognise any claim put forth by the Mughal ruler that might prejudice the position they had acquired by virtue of their successes against the Durrani.

2. **the whole Empire** (p. 79)—i.e., the Sikh dominions. These according to Foster were at this date "bounded on the north by the chain of mountains that extend in an oblique line across the head of the Punjab; on the east by the possessions of the emperor and his officers which reach to Pannipett (Panipat) and Kurrwaul (Karnal) on the south-east by the Agra districts, on the south by Moulton, and on the west by the Indus, except where the town and independencies of Attock and some petty chiefships are interspersed".

3. **God Almighty's** (p. 79)—The Sikhs believed their policy to be essentially theocratic in character. See Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI, p. 292.

4. **summoned** (p. 79)—The reading given in *T'R*, Vol. XXIII, p. 426, is 'obtained'.

Enclosure 27 to Letter No. 41

1. **Meherban Sing** (p. 80)—He is referred to as Mahe Sing in Letter No. 41. The identification suggested by Gupta with Baghel Singh in his article, "The Beginning of Diplomatic Relations between the Sikhs and the British Government in India" (*I.H.R.C. Progs*, Vol. XIX, 1942), is evidently wrong.

Enclosure 28 to Letter No. 41

1. **Maha Raja Rajegaun Maha Raja Seajee Sing** (p. 81)—He is referred to as Sahib Singh, son and successor to Raja Amar Singh, the sirdar of Patiala. See Letter No. 41, p. 72. The title *Raj-i-Rajgan* was conferred on Amar Singh by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1767 together with the *subadari* of Sirhind. It is doubtful, however, if the Patiala chief had any claim to use the title of Maharaja, as it appears that it was not conferred on the house till 1810 (Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*,

Vol. II, p. 469). Regarding Sahib Singh, see Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, pp. 133-34, 138; Aitchison, *Treaties, etc.*, Vol. I, p. 117.

2. **Shitab Chund** (p. 81)—Apparently an emissary of Raja Sahib Singh.

Letter No. 42

1. **Marhattas only . . . with Us** (p. 83)—Hastings, however, doubted the authenticity of the letter purporting to come from Sindia which showed his views to be hostile to the English. See his minute in Forrest, *Selections from Letters etc., preserved in the For. Dept.*, Vol. III, p. 1089).

2. **the Shah's Tribute** (p. 83)—The province of Allahabad including the district of Kora, estimated at the annual revenue of 22 lakhs of rupees, was assigned to Shah Alam in guarantee by the Company; and in addition, the Company agreed to pay 26 lakhs of rupees from the revenues of Bengal. In return, Shah Alam constituted the Company perpetual *Diwan* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, yielding a revenue of 3 million sterling (Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 25). The tribute of Rs. 26 lakhs was stopped by Hastings after the great famine of 1770.

3. **two Months Time** (p. 83)—During his meeting with Shafi, Mahadji had promised to go to Delhi after the rainy season (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 261).

Letter No. 43

1. **Hyder Beg Khan** (p. 85)—Haidar Beg Khan was the *naib* or deputy of Nawab Asafud Daulah from 1776 to 1791. He proved a capable minister. He died in 1791 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 7n).

2. **Navab Shuja ul dowla** (p. 85)—Shujaud Daulah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh (1754-75), was the son of Safdar Jang, Nawab of Oudh. He was born in 1731 and succeeded his father to the government in 1754. He was appointed Vazir by the Emperor Shah Alam. He supported Shah Alam's attempt on Bengal and received the fugitive Mir Qasim in 1763. He was defeated by the English at Buxar in October 1764. He then submitted and concluded a treaty with the English by which Oudh was restored to him. He died at Faizabad on 29 January 1776 (Buckland, *op. cit.*, p. 388).

3. **Widow of Safdar Jung** (p. 85)—Sadruunisa or Sadar-i-Jehan Begam was the eldest daughter of Saadat Khan, Governor of Oudh. She was married to her cousin, Safdar Jang. It is said that she was born of a slave girl. She was a talented, wise and virtuous lady and had the unique distinction of being her husband's only spouse. She died in 1796.

Enclosure 31 to Letter No. 41

1. **24th year** (p. 86)—i.e., of Shah Alam's reign.

2. **Mahals** (p. 86)—These were troops permanently stationed in garrisons as opposed to the troops available for field operations, which have

been described as being 'in the armies'. Both these classes were evidently the personal troops of the Emperor and did not include those of his virtually independent sirdars who maintained separate establishments of their own.

3. **Moguls** (p. 86)—The term used to signify not only the Turks from Central Asia but also Kashmiris who used to ape Mughal manners and put on Mughal dress (Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*).

4. **Hindustanny** (p. 86)—Hindustani. The major part of Hindustani cavalry was constituted by the Rajputs. If Khusal Chand is to be believed, Rajput officers in the Mughal army would usually recruit none but Rajput horsemen (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 36).

5. **Rohilla** (p. 86)—It is probable that the Rohilla horsemen got special encouragement for entering the Mughal service during the regency of Najibud Daulah who himself was a Rohilla. About 3,000 Rohillas entered the Mughal service in 1773 when Najaf Khan raised a new army on the eve of his expedition against the Jats (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 91).

6. **Marattas** (p. 86)—Probably the Maratha soldiers who had chosen to remain in Hindustan after the withdrawal of the main body of the Maratha army in consequence of Visaji Krishna's failure in Rohilkhand (May 1773). It appears that these soldiers used to hire themselves out to any power who could offer them the most acceptable terms (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 85, 113). Najaf Khan purchased their help in 1778 during his campaign against the Macheri chief. It is quite probable that some of these Maratha soldiers found their way in the imperial army.

7. **Toorksawars** (p. 87)—May be identified with Kizil-bash Turkomans (commonly known as Iranian Turks), who had come to India with Nadir Shah but had chosen to stay on in India and enrolled themselves in the services of various native chiefs (Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Irvine, *op. cit.* p. 58). It is probable that the so-called Persians who composed Najaf Khan's cavalry were really Turkomans and the body of horse entrusted by him to Samru's command on the latter's entry into his service was probably composed of the same elements (Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 146). The other alternative is to take the word to mean Hindustani *sawars* (riders) riding Turkish horses.

8. **Sumroo Saheb** (p. 87)—Indian corruption of 'Sombre', the nickname of Walter Reinhardt, the notorious German military adventurer (1720-78). For a full account of him see Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Compton, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-10; Boale, *Oriental Biography*, p. 251; *Seir-Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, pp. 505, 545. He started his career as a soldier in the French employ and after spending sometime in South India, he enlisted as a private in the employ of the East India Company. But he soon deserted them to join M. Law's force at Chandernagar. Later he enlisted under the banner of Mir Qasim on whose downfall he sought and obtained the patronage of Shujaud Daulah. After his dismissal by the latter, he joined the army of Jawahir Singh, the Jat chief, with his corps of soldiers officered by Europeans. During Najaf Khan's campaigns against the Jats, Samru was able to impress him with his military abilities and it was

through the latter's influence that the Delhi Emperor took him in his employ and granted him a *jagir* in the Gangetic Doab which later became famous as the principality of Sardhana. He left as his successor his widow, the celebrated Begam Samru.

9. **Tulungas** (p. 87)—Also spelt as Telingas. According to *Seir*, "Hindu soldiers armed and accoutred and disciplined in the European manners of fighting were famous under the name of Talingas" (Vol. II, p. 92). Though originally signifying soldiers recruited from the Telinga country (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 93*n*), it must have later come to signify any native soldier disciplined in the European manner. See also Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

10. **Nejeibs** (p. 87)—*Najib*. According to Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*), they were "foot soldiers invariably armed with a sabre and a matchlock and having adopted a semblance of European discipline".

11. **Matchlocks** (p. 87)—*Tufang* or *bandug*. "To the end of the Moghul period the fire arm in ordinary use was the matchlock" (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 105).

12. **Dummakas** (p. 87)—*Dhamakab*. The word *damanak* is used in Blochmann's translation of *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 120, for some kind of matchlock. But it was probably applied in later times to a small field piece (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 137).

13. **Mewetties** (p. 87)—Mewati. Literally men from Mewat, the hilly country south-west of the Jumna, between Delhi and Agra. They were famous as runners. In Akbar's army they performed the duties of a spy.

14. **Europeans** (p. 87)—The number of Europeans in Samru's corps was estimated to be 82 by Bussy in his letter of 3 March 1784 to Marquis de Castries. Among the officers employed in the corps may be mentioned Pauly, Marchand, Baours, Dudrenec, Evans, Le Vassoult, George Thomas and Saleur. See Compton, *op. cit.*, App.

15. **Russala of Zoolficar ud Dowla Bahader** (p. 87)—This was now under Mirza Shafi. The army under the latter's immediate command was estimated by Bristow in his letter of 11 December 1782 (Sec. Cons. 8 March 1783, No. 25) to consist of about 20,000 men.

16. **Europeans** (p. 87)—The Europeans in the Mughal army were known as *Farangi*. They were employed as artillery officers. The European branch of the Mughal artillery was maintained even as late as 1739, the majority of these employees being Frenchmen (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 172). Najaf Khan recruited a number of European officers to organize his artillery and infantry of musketeers. It is learnt from Modave's *Journal* that the Frenchmen dismissed by Shujaud Daulah were accorded ready reception in the camp of Rene Madec, Najaf Khan's lieutenant (*Bengal Past and Present*, 1936, Part II, p. 119). Madec and his Frenchmen rendered every important service to their patron during the latter's operations against the Marathas and the Jats (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 66, 69-73, 121).

17. **Raja Himmut Bahader** (p. 87)—He had become the partisan of Afrasiab Khan since the death of Najaf Khan. For an account of the Naga or Gossain troops commanded by Himmat Bahadur and his brother, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 163. The total number of troops under the joint command of the two Gossain brothers was between seven and eight thousand (Bristow to Hastings, 11 December 1782, Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 25).

18. **Iftekar ud Dowla..Feroze Jung** (p. 88)—Muhammad Beg Hamdani. The strength of his army was estimated by Bristow as exceeding 30,000 men (Sec. Cons. 3 March 1783, No. 25).

19. **Zumboors** (p. 88)—i.e., *Zamburak*. According to Bernier, it was "a small field-piece of the size of a double-musket" (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 136). According to *Seir*, Vol. I, p. 250n "Zamburacks are long swivels with one or two-pound balls. Two of them are carried fastened upon the saddle of a camel; and when they are brought in to play, the camel is..made to kneel on the ground..." (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 136).

Letter No. 44

1. **Mehdy Kouly Khan** (p. 89)—Mahdi Quli Khan. He was a loyal adherent of Mirza Najaf Khan. After Najaf's death, he became a partisan of Mirza Shafi and was a man of influence at the court of Delhi.

2. **Monsieur de Montigny** (p. 89)—Montigny was selected by the French ministry to conduct a mission at the Delhi court in response to an offer of the province and part of Tatta-Nakar from Shah Alam in lieu of military help. Montigny visited Agra in August 1778 and cut the absurdity of the Tatta project. But with a view to restore French influence in India he opened up negotiations with Najaf Khan promising him military assistance in case the latter would turn against the English. He seems to have left Delhi sometime after 1779, perhaps being convinced of the futility of the project. He revisited the Agra region after the second coup of Mirza Shafi and made an attempt to establish French influence at the Delhi court by assuming the leadership of Samru's corps. "But learning the Pauly's murder..he gave the idea up.." (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XVI, pp. 124-61).

3. **Himut Bahader** (p. 89)—A Brahmin by birth, his real name was Anupgir Gossain, Raja Himmat Bahadur being his title. He was brought up by Naga Gossain, who was in the employ of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh. On the death of Naga Gossain, he and his elder brother Umraogir succeeded to the command of his Naga force. He fought for Shujaud Daulah at Buxar in 1764. In 1776 the brothers joined Najaf Khan and continued to save him and his successors till Mahadji's rise to the regency of Delhi. After serving Sindia for sometime he retired and settled in Brindaban. He continued to give trouble to Sindia. In 1789 he helped Ali Bahadur in getting Bundelkhand as a reward. He died in

January 1804 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 41 n, p. 17).

4. **Paishwah** (p. 91)—Madho Rao Narayan, Peshwa (1774-95), posthumous son of Peshwa Narayan Rao. He was kept in strict tutelage by Nana Farnavis. Here the treaty referred to is the treaty of Salbai, 1782.

Enclosure 33 to Letter No. 44

The two letters included in this appendix as well as the one included in the following were presented to the Emperor on 25 July 1783.

1. **thro' Colonel Demontini** (p. 92)—He was at this time residing at Poona.

2. **your Majesty wrote** (p. 92)—It may be mentioned here that Shah Alam had addressed his first appeal for military help to the French court in 1775 through Modave. In this he had offered to provide the French with a landing place by ceding the province of Thatta in Sind (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XVI, pp. 150-51).

3. **10,000 Horsemen** (p. 92)—This represents the total number of men under Bussy before he received a fresh supply of 2,400 troops from Suffrein's fleet on 18 June 1783. This would fix the date of the letter between 16 March (the date of Bussy's disembarkation at Cuddalore) and 18 June 1783. See Martineau, *Bussy in the Deccan*. According to Browne this was written some time after Bussy's arrival (Letter No. 44), while the document No. 2 included in the Enclosure 33 had been addressed immediately after the disembarkation.

4. **20 large Ships** (p. 92)—i.e., the squadron of Suffrein. Regarding Suffrein's activities in Indian waters see Low, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79n; Hough, *Political and Military Events in India*, Vol. I. According to Wilks (*Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Vol. II), Suffrein's fleet consisted of 12 ships of the line and 18 other ships, when he first arrived in the Indian waters (February 1782). According to Mill, however, Suffrein had under him at this time 10 ships of the line, 2 ships of 50 guns, 6 frigates and 8 transports (Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 243). The French fleet was reinforced by 2 ships of the line in August 1782. This would bring the total number of ships to 20 excluding the transports (Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 252).

5. **of the Arzies in the French Language** (p. 92)—Bussy's intention was that Colonel De Montigny would carry the letters personally to the Delhi Emperor. But it appears from Enclosure 34 that the latter simply passed them on to Mirza Shafi.

6. **the said. Vizier** (p. 92)—De Montigny was the choice of M. Sartine, Minister of Marine in the Maurepa's ministry (the first ministry under Louis XVI). See Eliot to Hastings, Sec. Cons. 2 February 1778, published in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 400.

7. **Letter which. De Monti** (p. 92)—Montigny appears to have received this letter during his second visit to the Agra region which took place some time after Pauly's murder, i.e., on 17 or 18 November 1782.

Enclosure 34 to Letter No. 44

1. **I reside at Poona** (p. 94)—Montigny appears to have gone to Poona after the failure of his scheme to obtain the hand of Begam Samru and the command of her corps (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V ; Martineau, *op. cit.*, p. 291; *P.R.C.*, Vol. I, Nos. 24, 27).

Letter No. 45

1. **Shoka from his Majesty** (p. 94)—For the letter conferring title on Hastings himself see Forrest, *Selections. For. Dept.*, Vol. III, p. 1023. In another letter he informed him of his having bestowed a title on Mrs. Hastings. For this letter see *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 914.

2. **arrival of Afrasiab Khan** (p. 95)—According to Sarkar (*Full*, Vol. III, p. 261), Afrasiab was recalled by Shafi to discuss how to put down Hamdani who was plundering his (Shafi's) *suba* of Agra. Afrasiab, under the pretence of conciliating Hamdani, formed a secret pact with him for murdering Shafi so that he himself might become *Mir Bakhshi*. Afrasiab arrived at Dig before 23 August 1783 and the murder of Shafi took place on 23 September of the same year.

Enclosure 35 to Letter No. 45

1. **Mirza Hedayet Ulla Beg** (p. 96)—See Letter No. 82, notes.

2. **Signature** (p. 96)—A somewhat inaccurate rendering of the word *dastkhat*, which may perhaps be better translated as 'autograph superscription'. See Letter No. 45. For the original superscription in Persian see Original of Receipts, 18 September 1783, No. 90.

Enclosure 36 to Letter No. 45

1. **Omdut Omrayee** (p. 96)—A corruption of *Umdatul Umarayi*, meaning of the same rank as *Umdatul Umara*.

2. **24th Shabaun** (p. 97)—25 June 1783.

3. **2nd of the month Ramzan** (p. 98)—1 August 1783.

4. **Title of Teepoo Sultaun** (p. 98)—Tipu was regarded as an usurper for he had dethroned the Raja of Mysore who was a tributary of the Emperor. His object was therefore to get his title to the throne of Mysore recognised (Mohibbul Hasan Khan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, p. 133).

5. **and a fringed Pallankeen** (p. 98)—Palanquins or *Palkis* with fringes of gold lace and pearls and horses with gold-mounted and jewelled trappings were the principal items of gift presented to grantees of the empire (Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30).

6. **oval Umberalla** (p. 98)—i.e., the *saiban* of *Ain 19* in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52. This is "an umbrella of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle... is covered with brocade and ornamented with precious stones." This was regarded as an ensign of royalty.

7. **Flag** (p. 98)—*Chatrtog* or *Tumantog* of *Ain 19*. Both these

varieties of flag were "adorned with the tails of the Tibetan yaks" and were regarded as the "insignia... of the highest dignity". *Tumantogs* were bestowed upon great nobles only (Blochmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 52).

8. **Baul Muckund** (p. 98)—Bal Mukunda, wakil of Tipu. He is later referred to as Mukand Rao.

9. **15th of Ramzan** (p. 99)—14 August 1783.

10. **Khellaut** (p. 99)—For '*Khilat* of 5 cloths' see Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 29. This was regarded as the third grade robe of honour. It appears from the original Persian letter received on 18 September 1783 that the expenses on account of the *khilat* were defrayed by the wakil himself. See Original of Receipts, 18 September 1783, No. 91.

Enclosure 37 to Letter No. 46

1. **37**—This as well as Enclosures 38, 39 and 40 were enclosed by Browne in his letter of 24 August 1783, No. 46, and should be read together. The oath of secrecy was signed by him following the secret overtures of Afrasiab Khan, apparently supported and encouraged by Majdud Daulah and Shah Alam. See Enclosures 39 and 40, for an alliance with the English with a view to eliminating Mirza Shafi from the politics of the Empire.

Letter No. 47

1. **Disaffection of Mahomed Beg Hamdany** (p. 103)—It originally arose out of Shafi's failure to fulfil the promises by means of which he had bought his ally's support and of Shafi's demand for a partition of the spoils taken in Latafat and Pauly's camps and city residences. The disaffection was accentuated by Shafi's intrigues with Mahadji Sindia for crushing Hamdani (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III. pp. 256-59).

Letter No. 48

1. **Gohud** (p. 103)—Seized by Mahadji on 25 February 1784 from the Rana of Gohad.

2. **the Paishwa's Chowt** (p. 103)—The Emperor Muhammad Shah had made peace with the Marathas by promising the *chauth* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to Raja Shahu, who had, in his turn, assigned the same or the *chauth* of Bengal alone to Raghuji. The Peshwa did, besides this grant, also base his claim to Bengal *chauth* on a promise made by Alivardi Khan, in course of a meeting at Plassey on 31 March 1743 with Balaji, to pay Shahu the *chauth* for the province of Bengal and 22 lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa on condition of his preventing Raghuji from invading Bengal in future (Datta, *Alivardi and his Times*, pp. 82-83; Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. I, pp. 127-33; Dow, *The History of Hindustan*, Vol. II, p. 337).

Letter No. 49

1. **Futtaghur Detachment** (p. 104)—Fatchgarh in Farrukhabad

district, U.P. In 1777 this was selected as a station for the Company's troops lent to the Nawab of Oudh. A detachment consisting of 5 regiments of sepoy's under the command of Colonel Sir John Cumming was stationed here.

2. **Famine** (p. 105)—In 1783 occurred a famine which is known as the *Chalisa* in reference to the *Samvat* date 1840. Two years of partial drought had been followed by a complete failure of rains in 1783 with the result that a tremendous famine broke out. The famine raged from Multan down to Bengal and Murshidabad. In Upper India, it was probably even more acute than the famine of 1770 in Lower Bengal and Bihar. So far as the North-West Provinces were concerned, this was one of the greatest famines. The price of grain became enormous and even then it could be procured with difficulty. Whereas in ordinary years the price of grain was from 20 to 30 seers per rupee. "wheat is now selling at Battalah (Gurdaspur district, Punjab) 9 seers, at Lahore 4 seers, at Jummo 3 seers per rupee". And these were not the worst affected areas. Thousands died of sheer starvation. Wild beasts roved round the country in open day light living on human carcasses. Such was the lack of provisions that Shah Alam was constrained to ask the Vazir to send provisions for the royal household. It was after this famine that the great granary at Bankipore was built at the instance of Shore for the perpetual prevention of famine (Keene, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, p. 152; *Famine Commission Report*, Parts I & II, pp. 8-9, 25, 27; *C. P. C.*, Vol. VI, No. 876).

3. **dying Request of Nujif Khan** (p. 105)—"On his death-bed he (Najaf Khan) nominated him (Afrasiab Khan) his successor and begged His Majesty's (Shah Alam's) support for him" (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 860, 870).

4. **a Loan of ten Lacks of Rupees** (p. 105)—The King had, before this, asked Browne to write to Hastings "to relieve the distress of His Majesty who is suffering great hardship on account of his expenses".

Enclosure 41 to Letter No. 49

1. **Petition** (p. 106)—The object of the petition is explained by Browne in his letter of 8 September 1783 (Letter No. 49).

2. **taken leave of the Ameer ul Omrah Bahader** (p. 106)—Browne received his dismissal from Shafi some time before 28 August 1783 (Letter No. 47).

Letter No. 50

1. **Proposal of . . . with the English** (p. 107)—Afrasiab Khan considered it highly expedient that a fresh treaty of alliance be concluded between the English and Shah Alam. He repeatedly requested the Governor General for the conclusion of a treaty but with no result. Hastings in reply (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1013) said that he had referred the matter to the supreme Council at Calcutta (Forrest, *Selections . . . For. Dept.*, Vol. III,

p. 1087; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1008, 1013-14).

Letter No. 51

1. **Shoka from the Shah to your Address** (p. 107)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 860.

2. **Safety of his Son** (p. 107)—Prince Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh who had accompanied Shafi to Agra.

3. **Lucnow Business** (p. 108)—Shafi requested the Governor General that the Lucknow Resident might be directed to restore possession to his *amil* of the villages of Najafabad which were included in the *jagir* of Najaf Khan and which had been seized by Major Hannay (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 627).

Enclosure 42 to Letter No. 51

1. **I therefore write** (p. 109)—Regarding Afrasiab Khan's nomination by Najaf Khan as well as his substitution by Mirza Shafi *see* Prince Jahandar Shah's narrative (Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ; Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 273-76).

Enclosure 44 to Letter No. 51

1. **Royal Shooka** (p. 110)—i. e., Enclosure 43 to Letter No. 51.

Letter No. 52

1. **near Sunset..all their Forces** (p. 111)—Shafi issued from the fort with a small escort about 4 hours before sunset (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 263).

2. **heavy Cannonade..Mahomed Beg Khan** (p. 111)—The fight really took place between the armies of Hamdani and Mirza Shafi. Franklin says that afterwards Afrasiab Khan, exerting his influence, persuaded the troops of the late minister to join the confederates (Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

Letter No. 53

1. **Aga Ismael** (p. 112)—Ismail Beg was slightly wounded in a scuffle with Shafi's relation, Muhammad Amin Khan, following Shafi's murder. He was thrown into confinement along with two others by Mahadji Sindia in December 1784 (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 263; *C. P. C.*, Vol. VI, No. 130).

2. **Hamdany** (p. 112)—Afrasiab paid him some money and induced him to go back quietly to his *jagir* of Dholpur-Bari (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 265).

3. **depriving Mirza Shuffy..of the Shah** (p. 112)—When notification of the murder of Shafi was sent to Delhi by Afrasiab Khan, an answer was received expressing the King's approbation of the deed (Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

4. **Mirza Shafi... Brother** (p. 113)—Zainul Abidin Khan was

Governor of Meerut at the time of his brother's assassination. He was a man of impatient temper. He subsequently got Afrasiab Khan murdered in order to avenge the death of his brother.

5. **a Letter from Afrasiab Khan** (p. 113)—Letter Nos. 881 and 883 in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI are apparently addressed in reply to these two letters. *See also* No. 921 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI).

Letter No. 54

1. **his Majestys Afrasiab Khan** (p. 113)—According to Sarkar Afrasiab formally welcomed the imperial letter and robe of office at Sikandra on 18 October (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 265). But this is incorrect. These arrived at Afrasiab's camp at Mathura on 14 October. This is confirmed by Hastings's letter of 11 December (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 921).

2. **Rajah Dearam** (p. 113)—After the agreement of 1765 between Shah Alam and the East India Company, Raja Dayaram Pandit represented the former in Calcutta and was charged with the duty of receiving the tribute on behalf of the Emperor. It was through him that the Emperor sent his repeated representation to the English against the suspension of the Bengal tribute. He was opposed to Sindia's assumption of the regency and was executed by the latter for his persistent opposition (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 846, 912; *P.R.C.*, Vol. I).

3. **It is now were sent** (p. 113)—Reference in Browne's letter Nos. 46 and 50 of 24 August and 12 September 1783 respectively. These could not be traced.

Letter No. 55

1. **approaching Invasion of the Seekhs** (p. 114)—Bristow received intelligence of an apprehended Sikh invasion from Browne. This information was corroborated by Lieutenant Colonel Knudson's letter of 8 January 1784, from camp near Bareilly. Necessary precautions were taken by the English to prevent the entrance of the Sikhs into Rohilkhand. The Sikhs numbering thirty to thirty-five thousand men crossed the Jumna and plundered the villages round Saharanpur and then retired without crossing the Ganges. It was to repel this invasion that Afrasiab Khan marched to the Doab within a week of his arrival at Delhi (*I. C. E.*, Vol. IV, App., pp. 40, 44; *Sec. Cons.* 18 February 1784, No. 13; Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 266-67).

2. **transmitted this Viziers Court** (p. 114)—Bristow did not at first take it seriously though he informed Colonels Morgan and Cumming. It was only when he got further reports from Colonel Knudson that he wrote a second time to Colonel Cumming recommending a continuance of the detachment in Rohilkhand.

3. **many Sardars** (p. 114)—Baghel Singh and others.

4. **the only general for 16 Years past** (p. 114)—The Sikhs were prompt to rally together at the call of common danger. They were united in their fight for independence against Ahmad Shah Durrani. The last descent of Ahmad Shah took place in 1767,

5. **scarcity of Grain** (p. 114)—Reference is to the *Chalisa* famine of 1783 which affected the Punjab also.

Letter No. 56

1. **I arrived here the 11th** (p. 115)—According to Browne himself, he arrived on 11 December 1783. Francklin says Browne arrived at Delhi in the beginning of 1784. Afrasiab reached Delhi on 14 December (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 265).

2. **French Surgeon** (p. 115)—Mr. Dorival, a French surgeon, was in the service of Nawab Shujaud Daulah. He was removed from service with several other foreigners at the instance of the English. Then he entered the service of Najaf Khan and remained in the service of that family till December 1783. He rendered medical aid to Major Browne and was appointed an assistant surgeon by Hastings with effect from 24 June 1784. When the British mission was withdrawn in March 1785, his services were terminated. See Browne's letter, 16 March 1785 and Board's resolution on the same, 9 April 1785, Sec. Cons. 9 April 1785, No. 3.

Letter No. 57

1. **Etiquette of this Court** (p. 116)—No interview could take place on the 13 *Safar* as that day is considered inauspicious. Friday, being the Muhammadan sabbath, no court was held that day. On Wednesday also no darbar was held in the *Diwan-i-Am* as it was specially set apart for doing justice (Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 14).

2. **We have offered . . . of Assistance** (p. 115)—In compliance with the wishes of the King that the Vazir and the British should help in restoring order out of the chaos which had followed the death of Najaf Khan, Browne was sent to ascertain what was necessary for the Emperor's service. He was also asked to connect himself with the successor of Najaf Khan, if agreeable to Shah Alam. Browne at first tried to conclude a treaty with Mirza Shafi. After Shafi's murder, he opened negotiations with his successor Afrasiab Khan. Afrasiab offered a treaty to the British, the acceptance of which was recommended by Browne. Hastings, however, had given up his original idea of helping the Shah. Moreover, he thought that a treaty with Afrasiab Khan would not be agreeable to the Shah (Hastings's minute 22 April 1784 in Forrest, *Selections . . . For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1089-90).

3. **in opposition . . . but one** (p. 116)—Apparently Majdud Daulah.

4. **rejected the . . . Tippoo Saheb** (p. 116)—For the King's letter to Hastings informing him of his refusal of the proposals of the French chiefs and Tipu Sultan, see *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 914.

5. **his Majestys . . . your Addresses** (p. 116)—Reference is to letters Nos. 958-59 in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI.

6. **Jaidad . . . his Misbehavior** (p. 116)—Six battalions of troops, some pieces of artillery and 200 regular cavalry were stationed under Latafat Ali Khan on the part of Nawab Asafud Daulah on His Majesty's

service (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1122, Shah Alam's letter to Hastings). But in consequence of his entry into Najaf Khan's pay he was deprived of his employment under the Oudh government as well as his *jaidads* and *jagirs* in Oudh (in March 1782 according to Middleton's letter, 20 March 1782, but 1781 according to Abu Talib).

7. **Vizier's Naib M. ul Dowlah** (p. 116)—Though Majidud Daulah was invested with the title of *Naib Vazir* he was not given all the requisites which that rank demanded (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 959). He nourished a grievance against the Vazir that while Latafat Ali Khan kept 6 battalions on behalf of the Vazir, he, the Vazir's deputy, should have none (*Ibid.*, No. 1129). In a letter to Governor General, received on 10 September 1783, he alludes to his *niabat* (*Ibid.*, No. 831).

8. **European Officers.... Evil than Good** (p. 116)—This was taken exception to at the time of the impeachment of Warren Hastings (*I.C.E.*, Parliamentary Proceedings, Vol. I).

9. **6 Regiments of Sepoys** (p. 116)—The Bengal army was subjected to constant changes in its constitution and numbers. Following a reorganization which took place in the middle of 1783, the strength of sepoy regiments was as follows: two battalions of 350 men each henceforth formed a regiment. Battalions were divided into 5 companies of 70 men each. The regiment was commanded by a Major Commandant, and each battalion by a Captain. This organization remained in force until 1786, when further changes were introduced (Cardew, *op. cit.*).

10. **usual Compliment of Artillery** (p. 116)—According to Clive's arrangement, "to each battalion were attached two 3-pounder pieces" (Cardew, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

11. **These Troops to act.... Dominions do** (p. 117)—According to the agreement concluded by Hastings with the Vazir on 19 September 1781, the Company's brigade in Oudh was to be stationed or moved whenever the Nawab should direct in the mode prescribed in the former treaty with the late Nawab.

12. **Detachment.....at Dinapore** (p. 117)—The cantonment at Dinapur, completed in 1768, was designed to hold one brigade of soldiers (*Patna District Gazetteer*, p. 36).

13. **Anufshere** (p. 117)—Anupshahr, town in Bulandshahr district. It was of great importance in the 18th century as commanding an important crossing of the Ganges on the road from Delhi to Rohilkhand. From 1773 to 1806 the place was garrisoned by British troops, who were afterwards removed to Meerut (*The Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. V, pp. 389-90).

14. **Vicissitudes he has undergone** (p. 117)—Mujidud Daulah was placed in captivity by Najaf Khan in 1779. Released by Afrasiab Khan in 1782, he was again thrown into prison in September of the same year by Muhammad Shafi. During his second tenure of office in 1784, for the third time he was imprisoned and his property confiscated by Afrasiab Khan. He died in confinement in Agra fort.

Letter No. 58

1. **Afrasiab Cawns...last Month** (p. 118)—According to Sarkar, Afrasiab returned to Delhi on 28 January from the Doab (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 268).

2. **Tuslimates or ceremonial Obeissances** (p. 118)—The salutation, called *taslim*, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head. Upon taking leave, or presentations or upon receiving a *mansab*, a *jagir*, or a dress of honour, or an elephant or a horse, the rule is to make 3 *taslims*; but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid or presents are made (Blochmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 167).

3. **Huft Paicha** (p. 118)—A whole suit consisting of 7 pieces. A seven-piece *khilat* came next only to a present of clothes worn by the Emperor himself (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Crooke, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, Vol. I, p. 132).

4. **Khelauts four Times more honorary** (p. 118)—The lowest class of *khilat* consisted of 3 pieces, viz., (1) a turban (*dastar*), (2) a long coat with full skirt (*jamah*) and (3) a scarf for the waist (*kamrband*) (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

5. **his Majesty, when at Allahabad** (p. 118)—Shah Alam settled in Allahabad after the conclusion of the treaty of Allahabad with the English (on 16 August 1765) and left that place for Delhi in May 1771, reaching there on Christmas day (Keene, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

6. **Nuzzer** (p. 118)—This is on the occasion of conferment of titles on Warren Hastings and his wife.

7. **Mrs. Hastings's departure** (p. 118)—Mrs. Hastings left India on 10 January 1784, due to ill-health (Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*, Vol. III, p. 136).

8. **Tusbeh Khanna** (p. 118)—*Tasbih Khanah*, a suite of rooms to the south of the *Diwan-i-Khas*. "The *Tasbih Khanah*, *Khwabgah* and *Baitak* form one building; the former consists of a row of three rooms facing the *Diwan-Khas*". Shah Alam generally sat in the *Tasbih Khanah* (Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, p. 234).

9. **Mirza Jewan Buckt** (p. 119)—Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shab, the eldest son of Shah Alam. According to Franklin, he was born about 1740. On the murder of Emperor Alamgir II in 1759, he was appointed regent of the empire by Ahmad Shah Abdali, on behalf of his father Shah Alam who was then a fugitive in Bihar. For ten years he held that post. On the return of his father, he retired into private life. He took a prominent part in the coup against Mirza Shafi. The coup, though successful, was not of lasting effect and on the return of Mirza Shafi the prince was relegated to the background. On 13 April 1784, he fled from the palace and went to Lucknow in the hope of enlisting English support for re-establishing royal authority. The Board being unwilling to be drawn

into Delhi politics, Hastings used his influence for facilitating the Prince's return to Delhi on honourable terms. An engagement with Afrasiab Khan failed to take effect on account of his murder. He was then referred to Sindia who, however, would not agree to the Prince's being accompanied by armed forces. He therefore stayed on at Lucknow. In 1786 he went to Benares from where he returned to Delhi in 1787 on receiving a call for help but not before Ghulam Qadir had blinded his father. He was entrusted with the direction of the royal affairs but failing to receive the necessary support from his father, he left Delhi and was on his way to Rajmahal or Sasaram in Bihar when he fell ill at Benares and died on 1 June 1788 (*I.H.R.C. Progs.*, 1937, Vol. XIV, pp. 138-45).

10. **Paishktema** (p. 119)—*Paishkhemah* in Persian. It was customary for the King or members of the royal family to go into tents before they started on an expedition, while the army began to assemble. On this occasion the King did not go into tents as Afrasiab Khan could not supply the money necessary for the Emperor's needs (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 268).

11. **The Object of their Campaign** (p. 119)—The expedition was intended to be directed against Jaipur (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 268). Afrasiab Khan had already led an expedition against the Sikhs in December 1783.

12. **The great army . . . Country** (p. 119)—This must be one of the minor Sikh expeditions in the Doab. The Sikhs had entered the Doab and looted the villages round Saharanpur and other cities. Zabita Khan, who was assisted by some Sikh chiefs, was defeated. Afrasiab marched against the rebels and achieved some success (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 267).

Letter No. 59

1. **Letter of the 1st Decemr. last** (p. 120)—No letter of this date could be traced.

2. **you will be at Lucnow** (p. 120)—Hastings left Calcutta on 17 February 1784 and arrived at Lucknow on 27 March. His object was to adjust the accounts between the Nawab and the Company (Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 219). For Nawab's letter inviting Hastings see *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 968.

3. **Mujid ul Dowlah** (p. 120)—Hastings asked Shah Alam to send a person of confidence to treat on the question of the Bengal tribute, claims of Kora, etc. The King appointed Majidud-Daulah who actually set out on his journey but had to get back on account of the Jats having taken possession of Sikandra (*C. P. C.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 427-28, 538, 540, 610).

4. **your coming up to Benares** (p. 120) On 24 June 1773, Hastings left Calcutta for Benares in order to remedy the shortcomings of the treaty of Allahabad, 1765. He reached Benares on 19 August. The treaty of Benares was concluded on 7 September 1773 and Hastings returned to Calcutta after a stay of three weeks at Benares on 4 September (Forrest, *Selections . . . For. Dept.*, Vol III; Gleig, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 352,

357; Aitchison, *Treaties, etc.*, Vol I.

5. **Nudjif Khan. . Jates** (p. 121)—Mirza Najaf started from Delhi in September 1773 against Nawab Singh, the Jat Raja. His generals had already scattered the Jat forces in the Doab. Mirza Najaf defeated Nawab Singh in a battle on 30 October and occupied Barsana. The fort of Agra, under a brother of Dan Shah, after some resistance, surrendered in 1774 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 444, 558, 638, 904; Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 94-105).

6. **full and. .Khorah &c.** (p. 121)—As Abdul Ahad was unable to undertake the journey, the Shah referred Hastings to the Vazir, and to his *naib* Munirud Daulah who had the government of the districts of Kora, Allahabad, etc. to whom the only instructions which he gave were to demand the arrears of the Bengal tribute, its punctual payment in future, and the restitution of Kora and Allahabad. In view of the absence of any royal delegate, Hastings could do nothing to settle the royal affairs. He transferred Kora and Kara to the Vazir and promised to transmit Bengal tribute when normal conditions returned. See Hastings's letters to Colebrooke and Sullivan in Gleig, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 353, 356; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 523.

7. **Acbal Aly Khan** (p. 121)—Iqbal Ali Khan or Akbar Ali Khan, son of Kamgar Khan, succeeded to the family estates on the death of his uncle in 1778. He was confined at Patna for heavy arrears. On Chait Singh's rebellion he escaped and began to plunder the neighbourhood of Patna. He was defeated in October 1781, escaped to Delhi and his estates were confiscated. He was, however, permitted to return to Patna at the end of 1784 when he tried to regain his family estates but was not successful. He died in 1800.

8. **Kamgar Khan** (p. 121)—Kamgar Khan has been described as a turbulent and intriguing person. He was the son of Diyanath Khan who along with his brother was granted the zamindari of some parganas in Bihar by Farrukhsiyar. Kamgar Khan extended the influence of his family about the time of the Maratha invasions over a large tract of hilly country between Kharagdiha and Rajgir. When Ali Gauhar invaded Bihar (1760) Kamgar Khan sided with and fought for him. Subsequently he joined Mir Qasim when the latter was at war with the British. He died in 1764 at Hasua' (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 29-30).

9. **Mr. Charters** (p. 121)—Samuel Charters came to Bengal as a writer in 1769; was appointed member of the Committee of Revenue in 1781 and as Judge of Appeal at Patna in the same year. He died at Patna on 25 July 1795 at the age of 47 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 201 n; *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 57, 64).

Letter No. 60

1. **Army of Seiks. . the Doab** (p. 121)—The Sikh invasion at the beginning of 1784 was not a formidable one. They talked of crossing the Ganges and the British Government ordered suitable disposition of forces.

They came to the neighbourhood of Delhi but when Afrasiab Khan went to chastise them, they marched away (Sec. Cons. 18 February 1784, No. 13).

2. **Kurram Sing** (p. 122)—Karam Singh Nirmala belonged to the Nishanwalia *misl* of the Sikhs. He was one of the followers of Sardar Sangat Singh, the standard-bearer of the *Dal Khalsa* and was called a Nirmala because of his leanings in early life towards the Nirmala order of Sikh religious zealots. He had his headquarters at Shahabad in the present district of Karnal. For a long time he played a prominent part in the affairs of the Sikhs. He was one of the leaders of the Sikh invading army of 1784. During the Sikh invasion of 1785, the other Sikh chiefs followed his leadership. He, with other chiefs, led another expedition across the Jumna in 1790. He died in 1808 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 465, see also letter Nos. 19, 44; Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 166).

3. **Commander on this Expedition** (p. 122)—When an expedition was organized on a large scale, the whole *Dal Khalsa* united under the command of one supreme chief and all the heads of the various contingents obeyed him though much was left to their discretion (Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-81).

4. **Kallian Sing** (p. 122)—Kalyan Singh, son of Karam Singh Nirmala.

5. **Gorrumutta** (p. 122)—*Gurumatta*, the Grand Diet of the Sikh chiefs. The meaning of the term is not very clear. The older writers, viz., Browne, Cunningham, Forster, Malcolm, have without exception applied the term to the Diet or National Council of the Sikh chiefs. These Diets met at Amritsar to transact the more important affairs of common interest. The first *Gurumatta* was assembled by Guru Govind Singh and the latest was called in 1805. But according to the later writers on Sikh history, viz., Sinha, Gupta, the term refers not to the meetings of *Sarbat Khalsa* but to resolutions passed at such meetings. The resolution to organize themselves into various groups seems to be the first *Gurumatta* passed by the Sikhs (1745). Considering the fact that the word *Gurumatta* literally means "Advice of the Guru," the term appears more reasonably to apply to the resolutions passed in meetings of the chiefs (who together, took the place of the *Guru*) than to the meetings themselves (Browne, *India Tracts*, II, VII; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 101, 105; Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 287; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, pp. 254-56; Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95; Gupta, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 20, 35, 46-54).

Letter No. 61

1. **shoka No. 1 of the Persian Paper** (p. 124)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 983. For the Governor General's reply see *ibid.*, No. 980.

2. **No. 2 is a letter** (p. 124)—Afrasiab Khan's letter (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 984).

3. **Mr. Hastings is coming** (p. 124)—Hastings left Calcutta on 17 February 1784 and reached Lucknow on 27 March. He left Lucknow on 27 August after a stay of five months and returned to Calcutta in November.

4. **Col. Morgan's Detachment....Etawa** (p. 124)—Colonel James Morgan was the commanding officer of the 2nd Brigade with his headquarters at Kanpur. It appears from his correspondence that at the beginning of 1784 he was moving towards Bengal rather than towards Etawa, keeping Major Dunn in charge of the forces left at Kanpur (Bristow's letter to Morgan, 10 December 1783). On 14 December he had encamped near Kara (Morgan's letter to Bristow) and by 24 December he had moved further towards Bengal and was encamped near Allahabad (Morgan's letter to Council). He wrote to Major General Stibbert from his camp at Muty Ranshe Talha on 31 December 1783, that he "will cross over on 3rd January and march down to the presidency without loss of time." In July 1784, he was in Calcutta (Morgan to Board, 15 July 1784).

5. **Mirza Akbar Shah's** (p. 125)—He was the son and successor of Shah Alam. He occupied the throne from 1806-37.

6. **National Enemies** (p. 126)—Here Browne refers to the French and particularly to Mahadji Sindia and also to Faizulla Khan, the Rohillas, Chait Singh and Tipu Sultan.

7. **Scindias own Letters** (p. 126)—Copies of letters purporting to have come from Sindia himself were shown to Browne. For Hastings's views on this affair see Forrest, *Selections...For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1087-90.

8. **his Agent** (p. 126)—Afrasiab Khan's wakil in Sindia's camp.

9. **Major Palmer** (p. 126)—Major General William Palmer entered the Bengal army in 1766. He was promoted to the rank of Major on 29 July 1781. He served as Military Secretary to Warren Hastings. In 1782 he was deputed by Hastings to Lucknow as his confidential agent. On Bristow's recall in December 1783, he was appointed Resident at Lucknow. In October 1787 he became Resident with Sindia, which post he held till 1798 when he was transferred to Poona as Resident. Here he remained until 1801. He died at Berhampore on 20 May 1816, at the age of 76 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 488; *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 6 n; Dodwell and Miles, *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Bengal Army*).

Enclosure 46 to Letter No. 61

The date of the four documents included herein should be placed somewhere between 27 January (the date of Afrasiab's formal appointment as Prime Minister) and 6 February, the date on which the treaty with Afrasiab was presented to Shah Alam. See Letter Nos. 58, 60 and *Calcutta Gazette*, 4 March 1784. Browne, as it would appear from his letter, 19 February, took them as unmistakable proof of Afrasiab Khan's acquisition of the supreme authority in the Delhi government.

1. **Raja Cooshalchund Roy** (p. 127)—Is he Khushhal Rai, the son of Maharaja Nawab Rai, the deputy and Commander-in-Chief of Safdar Jang? As Safdar Jang resided at Delhi, it is not improbable that Nawab Rai also had to spend considerable time in the imperial capital. Abdul Ahad Khan preferred his claim to Nawab Rai's house probably as the occupant of the office of the deputy vazir.

2. **Peeramund** (p.127)—In *TR*, Vol. XXIII, p. 475, it is 'Peeranund'.
3. **Balwar** (p. 127)—Probably a mistransliteration of Palwal, a *tahsil* in Gurgaon district.
4. **deceased Nawab** (p. 127)—Mirza Najaf Khan, who had adopted Afrasiab Khan as his son. See Sardesai, *Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia* No. 323 and *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 598.
5. **Jeynageer** (p. 128)—Jaipur. The reference here is to the Jaipur tribute which had fallen hopelessly in arrears. For details see Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 331-42; Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
6. **Khalsa** (p. 128)—Crown lands as opposed to *jagir* lands. *Kacheri* of *Khalsa* would thus mean the office of the *Diwani Khalsa*. It was this office which was responsible for the recovery of all arrears.
7. **arrival of the Peshcush** (p. 128)—The reference is to the *pesh-kash* promised by Afrasiab Khan as the price of his appointment (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 268).
8. **Dawurri** (p. 128)—Probably this is a slip for Dadri, a *tahsil* in Jhind state. It was the scene of Shah Alam's early activities (*Shah Alam-Nama*, p. 53).
9. **Stations** (p. 128)—*Mahallas* (wards) in the town. Under the Mughal municipal system, a town was divided into several wards for each of which a headman was appointed (Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 234).
10. **Keroory** (p. 128)—Apparently a corruption of *krori* or *karori*. Originally it meant revenue officers in charge of circles yielding an average revenue of a crore rupees; later it came to mean any revenue collector (Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 296). We also hear of '*kroris* of arrears' (Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 73-74).
11. **Injury** (p. 128)—That is to say, encroachment on *Khalsa* affairs.

Letter No. 62

1. **Captain Scott** (p. 129)—Jonathan Scott (1754-1829) came to India in 1772 and became Captain in 1778. He was Persian Secretary to Warren Hastings and helped to found the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. He returned to England in 1785 and published translations of various oriental works. He was the professor of Oriental Languages at the R.M. College between 1802-05 and later D.C.L. in 1805. He died on 11 February 1829 (Buckland, *op. cit.*, p. 379).

Enclosure 47 to Letter No. 62

This paper, which was despatched from Delhi on 23 February 1784 (Letter No. 62), serves to bring to vivid light Mahadji's reactions to the report he had received of a possible English interference in Delhi politics. The apprehension of a possible diplomatic coup by the English was further increased by the news of Hastings's journey to Lucknow as would appear from Apaji Ram's letter to Nana, 16 April 1784 (*Hist. Papers M.S.*, Nos. 305, 311).

1. **1st Rubbee assanie** (p. 130)—23 February 1783.
2. **Plans** (p. 130)—Plans for “connecting himself with the English”.
3. **the rights of one Side are near** (p. 130)—The interests of one side alone, viz., the Britishers have been taken into consideration to the detriment of the interests of the other side, viz., the Marathas. Mahadji seems to have believed that the Delhi region constituted a Marathi sphere of influence by virtue of the agreement he had made with Mirza Shafi to take over the administration of Delhi and that the English were bound by the terms of their recent treaty, not to “carry on any direct diplomatic relations with the Padishah” (*Hist. Papers M.S.*, No. 297).
4. **has been investigated** (p. 130)—i.e., by the English agent.
5. **Anund Row Nurse** (p. 130)—Anand Rao Narsingh Yerulkar, commonly known as Anand Rao Narsi. He was appointed by Sindia as his representative at the imperial camp at the time of his negotiations with Mirza Shafi (*Hist. Papers M.S.*, No. 207).

Enclosure 48 to Letter No. 63

1. **representation...Bahader** (p. 132)—The reference is to the mission of Himmat Bahadur to Sindia’s camp for arranging an amicable settlement between the Maratha chief and Mirza Shafi (*Hist. Papers M.S.*, No. 207; Browne’s letter No. 40, Enclosure 18). It appears from Mahadji’s letter to Nana Farnavis, 16 April 1784 (*Ibid.*, No. 297) that under this agreement Sindia undertook to take the Emperor under his protection. According to Sindia, Shafi’s reluctance to permit Browne to proceed to Delhi was inspired by none but the Maratha chief himself. *See also* Letter No. 48, pp. 103-04 where Browne quotes from Sindia’s letter to Shafi in which the latter was definitely asked not to allow the English agent to gain access to Shah Alam. It appears, however, that Shafi himself was no ardent advocate of the English interference in the imperial affairs. *See* Letter Nos. 47-49.
2. **turned back the Invaders** (p. 132)—*See* in this connection the quotation from Sindia’s letter to Shafi in Browne’s letter No. 48.
3. **Deceased Nawab** (p. 132)—Mirza Shafi.

Enclosure 49 to Letter No. 63

This was written some time after Afrasiab Khan’s march from Delhi to attack the Sikh invaders, which took place in the morning of 23 February 1784. *See* Browne’s letter Nos. 62-63.

1. **The Body of Rebels** (p. 133)—The Sikh raiders.
2. **they had...place also** (p. 133)—Afrasiab Khan’s inability to pursue the raiders was due to his weakness in cavalry (Browne’s letter No. 62).

Enclosure 50 to Letter No. 64

1. **6th rubbeassanie** (p. 133)—20 February 1783.

2. **from the Concerns in Hand** (p. 133)—The reference is to Mahadji's military operations in Central India. These were brought to a successful conclusion with the surrender of Gohad on 25 February 1784 (Sec. Cons. 13 April 1784, No. 17).

Enclosure 51 to Letter No. 64

1. **1st Rubbeassanie** (p. 134)—23 February 1784.
2. **25th year** (p. 134)—i.e., of Shah Alam's reign or 1784.

Letter No. 65

1. **Shoka relating . . Afrasiab Khan** (p. 134)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 983.
2. **to accompany . . Afrasiab Khan** (p. 134)—Prince Mirza Muham mad Sulaiman Shikoh and Afrasiab Khan were expected to meet Hastings if the proposal found favour with him. The reference is presumably to this.

Enclosure 52 to Letter No. 65

1. **21st year** (p. 135)—Evidently a mistake for the '25th year' which is equivalent to 1784.
2. **your Letter . . Bahader** (p. 136)—See Enclosure 47.

Enclosure 53 to Letter No. 65

1. **A royal Shooka** (p. 137)—See Enclosure 52.

Letter No. 66

1. **his Majesty's requisition** (p. 137)—Reference is to Shah Alam's requisition for a treaty with Afrasiab Khan. See Browne's letter No. 63.

Enclosure 54 to Letter No. 66

1. **17th Rubbeassanie** (p. 137)—10 March 1784.
2. **Before this** (p. 137)—The reference is to the time of Najaf Khan and Mirza Shafi.
3. **Formerly . . . arrive** (p. 138)—It appears from the news report from Poona, 29 November 1779, that letters from the King, Abdul Ahad Khan and Najaf Khan used to reach Mahadji almost daily while he was engaged in war with the English. See *TR*, Vol. XIV, pp. 145-51. In this connection mention may be made of a *shugqa* of Shah Alam to Mahadji in which the latter was earnestly entreated to hasten to the royal camp in the neighbourhood of Jaipur or to send 10,000 horsemen under the command of an officer of rank. For Mahadji's former relations with Shah Alam see also *Hist. Papers M.S.*, Nos. 106-11, 117, 131, 135, 160-61, 167, 192.

Enclosure 55 to Letter No. 67

1. **20th Rubbeassanie** (p. 138)—13 March 1784.

2. **beseiged Raja** (p. 139)—Rana Chhatrasal of Gohad.

3. **gave up Gohed** (p. 139)—Sindia was put in complete possession of the town of Gohad on 2 March 1784 (Anderson to Hastings, 2 March 1784, Sec. Cons. 13 April 1784, No. 17). The date given by Keene, Francklin and Laurd, *Gwalior Gazetteer* (p. 218) is 24 November 1784, which is evidently wrong.

4. **Nawab** (p. 139)—i.e., Abdul Ahad Khan.

Enclosure 56 to Letter No. 67

1. **Escape of the Ranna** (p. 139)—The passage is extremely puzzling. The Rana made his personal surrender to Sindia on 25 February and put him in the possession of the fort of Gohad on 2 March (Sec. Cons. 13 April 1784, No. 17). His flight from Sindia's camp took place some time after this event and the earliest notice of this incident is to be found in Sadashiv Dinkar's letter to Nana, 8 March 1784 (*Hist. Papers M.S.*, No. 289). In any case his flight must have followed and could not have preceded his surrender, and certainly it would have been pointless for Sindia to have referred to this incident in the present letter. Possibly the original Persian words have been mistranslated.

2. **his Companions...Tent** (p. 139)—The reference is to the incident of 18 February 1784 thus described by Anderson in his letter of 20 February to Hastings, "Two days ago a body of his sepoys reported to amount to 200 men found means to desert with their arms to Sindhia and they were accompanied by an Italian..to whom the Rana had entrusted the command of one of his battalions" (*P.R.C.*, Vol. I, p. 2).

Letter No. 68

1. **your Persian..Letters** (p. 139)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 978, 980.

2. **earnest Solicitations for [alli] ance** (p. 140)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 984.

3. **his Treaty with the English** (p. 140)—It was concluded on 13 October 1781, through the agency of Colonel Muir. Hastings restored to Sindia both Gwalior and Ujjain, together with his previous possessions south and west of the Jumna river. The only condition was that Sindia should do his best to persuade the ministry at Poona to consent to make peace (Keene, *Sindhia*, pp. 81-82).

4. **above 3 months have elapsed** (p. 140)—3 months 13 days to be exact (from 11 December 1783 to 24 March 1784).

Letter No. 69

For Hastings's comment on the arguments advanced by Browne see his minute to the Board, Lucknow, 22 April 1784 (Forrest, *Selections. For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1087-90.) Also see in this connection *Hist. Papers M.S.*, Nos. 294, 305, 310, 313. Letters of Sadashiv Dinkar and of Appaji

Ram show that Mahadji did not expect conclusion of treaty between the English and Tipu without Maratha mediation as required by the treaty of Salbai.

1. **March to Sirhind or Lahore** (p. 141)—The object would have been to punish the Sikhs for their frequent depredations.

2. **answer .. Afrasiab Khan** (p. 142)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1008. For Hastings's reply see *Ibid.*, No. 1013. It contains no reference to the proposed interview. He said he had written to the Council at Calcutta in respect of the treaty.

Enclosure 57 to Letter No. 69

1. **2d Jemmadie ul awul** (p. 142)—24 March 1784.

2. **3d Jemmadie ul awul** (p. 143)—25 March 1784.

3. **26th Year** (p. 143)—Starts from March 1784.

4. **Khans** (p. 143)—Kotul Khan and Wajiuddin Khan.

5. **10th Jemmadie ul awul** (p. 143)—1 April 1784.

Letter No. 70

1. **our Treaty with the Marattas** (p. 144)—Treaty of Salbai, concluded on 17 March 1782.

2. **security for payment of the subsidy** (p. 144)—Few parts of Shah Alam's dominions would yield a revenue greater than the expense of collecting it (Hastings's minute in Forrest, *Selections..For. Dept.*, Vol. III, p. 1090).

3. **alter such things as you please** (p. 144)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 984. It does not say anything about making alterations for which see *TR*, Vol. XXII, p. 50.

Letter No. 71

1. **another Letter from the Amir-ul-Omra** (p. 145)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1014. This urged immediate conclusion of a treaty of alliance.

Letter No. 72

1. **Scindia's Duplicity** (p. 146)—Hastings did not believe in Sindia's duplicity. But there are strong grounds for believing that Mahadji resented British interference in the affairs of Delhi. He wrote to the Emperor to counteract the designs of the English at Delhi, and asked for financial support from Poona. See Forrest, *Selections..For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1089-90 for Hastings's view. See also *Hist. Papers M.S.*, Nos. 217, 312-13, 318, 321.

2. **thro' his Vakeel here** (p. 146)—Anand Rao Narsingh Yerulkar (Eliot, *History of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 243).

3. **his treacherously..Gohud** (p. 146)—The Rana submitted to Sindia on 25 February 1784, on a general assurance of personal safety and the promise of a suitable maintenance. He was very well treated by Sindia (Sec. Cons. 13 April 1784, No. 17; Sec. Cons. 11 May 1784, No. 18).

Enclosure 58 to Letter No. 73

1. **7th Jemmadie ul awul** (p. 148)—29 March 1784.
2. **25th Year** (p. 148)—Evidently a mistake for the 26th year.
3. **Nawab Ameer...Arrived** (p. 148)—Afrasiab Khan appears to have returned to Delhi some time before 24 March 1784 (Browne's letter No. 68).

Enclosure 59 to Letter No. 73

For Browne's observations on this letter *see* his letter No. 73.

1. **10th Jemmadie ulawul** (p. 148)—1 April 1784.
2. **improper persons** (p. 148)—Probably Abdul Ahad Khan and Major Browne.
3. **Pateel Saheb** (p. 148)—*Patil* or *patel* literally means the headman of a village. "The title is more particularly current in territories that are or have been subject to the Mahrattas" (*Hobson-Jobson*). Mahadji Sindia, who was an illegitimate son of Ranoji Sindia. *patil* of Kanneikhera, took a particular pride in being considered as the hereditary servant of the Peshwa and being addressed as *patil* (Malcolm, *Central India*, Vol. I, p. 101; Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. II, pp. 253-55).
4. **Governor Bahadure...Lucnow** (p. 148)—Hastings arrived at Lucknow on 27 March 1784 (Gleig, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 195).
5. **Kareeta** (p. 148)—*Kharita* in Persian, meaning letter. The reference is to Enclosures 57-58.
6. **Nassirud Dowla** (p. 148)—Nasirud Daulah, title of Mirza Shafi.
7. **tomorrow...this Month** (p. 148)—i.e., 31 March 1784. This indicates that the present letter was written on 29 March.

Enclosure 60 to Letter No. 73

1. **Gentlemen** (p. 149)—i. e., the English.
2. **his Highness** (p. 149)—Probably Sulaiman Shikoh with whom Sindia seems to have been in secret correspondence since the revolution following Mirza Shafi's death and whom he probably intended to convert into an instrument of his will. *See also* Enclosure 62.

Letter No. 74

1. **Conspiracy against his Life** (p. 149)—This attempt is also reported in *Ibrat-Nama* quoted in Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 271n. Sarkar gives 10 April as the date. But it appears from Browne's letter that the conspiracy was discovered on the 12th. *Ibrat's* date 12 May is obviously wrong. Five men were employed for the task. They hid themselves in *Mir Bakhshi's* office room. But they were detected and arrested.

2. **Mirza Zein ul Abedeen Khan** (p. 149)—Zainul Abidin Khan. He was the elder brother of Mirza Shafi and was one of the army chiefs of Shah Alam. At the time of the assassination of Mirza Shafi he was the Governor of Meerut (September 1783). He was removed from his government, brought to Delhi, and a stipend was granted for his support. He

had no love lost for Afrasiab Khan. He was eager to avenge his brother's murder. His first attempt on Afrasiab Khan's life proved unsuccessful. His second attempt was, however, crowned with success. One of his men murdered Afrasiab Khan in his tent at Khanna on 2 November 1784. He took refuge with Sindia who subsequently transferred him to Gwalior for a life-long imprisonment (Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11; Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 271; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1494, 1550).

Letter No. 74

1. **last night** (p. 150)—It is clear from Browne's letter that the flight took place on the 13th night. But some historians have dated it on the night of 14 April (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 270; Forrest, *Selections... Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 106; *I.H.R.C. Progs*, 1937, Vol. XIV, p. 139). But this, in the light of Browne's letter, is obviously wrong. This mistake arises from their identifying the night of 23 *Jumadal-Awwal* with the night following the day of 14 April, instead of with the night preceding. The Muslim month is a lunar month. The day begins with the appearance of the moon. In other words, the day is counted from one evening to next. Thus the night of 23 *Jumadal-Awwal* should correspond to the night of 13 April and not to the night of the 14th.

2. **Akbar Ally Khan** (p. 150)—Nawab Saiyid Akbar Ali Khan was the maternal uncle of Prince Jahandar Shah and brother of the Prince's mother, Begam Taj Mahal. He was a faithful adherent of the Prince and played an important part in the latter's escape from the palace. He was with the Prince during his sojourn in the Oudh territories. He carried on correspondence on behalf of Jahandar Shah with the successive Governors General, Hastings, Macpherson and Lord Cornwallis. For his correspondence see *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII. For his part in the escape of the Prince, see Prince Jahandar Shah's narrative in Forrest, *Selections... Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, pp. 98-118.

3. **some other persons** (p. 150)—For persons who took part in the escape of the Prince see Jahandar Shah's narrative in Forrest, *Selections... Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, pp. 98-118.

4. **about 2 O'Clock in the Morning** (p. 150)—The Prince started from the palace at about 10 p.m. —

5. **a little below the Fort** (p. 150)—The original plan was to cross at Paltargunje Ghat. This could not be located as the night was very dark and the Prince with a handful of followers ultimately crossed the river at Rajghat. See Prince Jahandar Shah's narrative in Forrest, *Selections... Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 111.

6. **Benares** (p. 150)—Was one of the *sarkars* in the *suba* of Allaha-bad. Raja Chait Singh had been deposed in 1781 and his nephew, Mahip Narayan, was recognised as the Raja by Warren Hastings.

7. **Khewas** (p. 150)—*Khawas* meaning confidential attendant on a person of rank. Muhammad Mustafa Khan was the confidant of Prince Jahandar Shah with Warren Hastings (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1042).

8. **a Shoka from his Majesty** (p. 151)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1043.

Enclosure 61 to Letter No. 75

1. **21st Jemadie ul awol** (p. 152)—12 April 1784. This paper as well as the one addressed to Mihrban Khan was despatched by Browne by the dak of 15 April 1784 (Browne's letter No. 75).
2. **motions** (p. 152)—i.e., towards Agra.
3. **Dwelling of the Khalifut** (p. 152)—*Darul-Khilafat*, honorific epithet given to Agra in Mughal times. See Shamsuddin Ahmad, *A Supplement to Vol. II of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, No. XVII.
4. **delay Major Browne** (p. 152)—The intention was to forestall Browne by hastily patching up a treaty with the Mughal court before Browne had an opportunity to discuss the matter with Hastings, then at Lucknow.
5. **Mirza Abdur-rehim Beg Khan** (p. 152)—Abdur Rahim Beg Khan. He was the confidential minister of Sindia and a member of his inner Council (*P.R.C.*, Vol. I, Nos. 11, 65).
6. **his** (p. 153)—The reference is to the writer of the "letter in a bag". The person referred to is probably no other than Afrasiab Khan.
7. **his Highness** (p. 153)—Sulaiman Shikoh.
8. **to Delhi** (p. 153)—Mihrban Khan arrived in Delhi on 22 February 1784 (*Calcutta Gazette*, 1 April 1784).
9. **Governor Bahader....Pateel Saheb** (p. 153)—Obviously a deliberate mis-statement.

Letter No. 77

1. **Bale Leaf** (p. 155)—Leaf of the *Bael* tree. The leaves are used for offering *pujas* to Hindu gods and goddesses.
2. **his Sons** (p. 156)—They were Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah, Prince Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh, Prince Farkunda Bakht and Prince Mirza Akbar Shah. Sulaiman Shikoh died in February 1838 at Agra and was buried at the mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra. Farkunda Bakht died in 1741 and was buried at Humayun's mausoleum. Akbar Shah, who was born in 1760 and had succeeded his father in 1806 as Akbar Shah II, died in September 1837. His son Bahadur Shah II, the last king of Delhi, succeeded him.

Letter No. 78

1. **ruinous War** (p. 157)—The first Maratha war (1775-82) concluded by the treaty of Salbai.
The second Mysore war (1780-84) concluded by the treaty of Mangalore with Tipu Sultan.
2. **movement to Agra** (p. 157)—The Shah did not go to Agra after all.
3. **his Majesty's Grant** (p. 158)—To the Marathas. In 1771 Shah

Alam had come to Delhi under Maratha protection. The Maratha army was under Visaji Krishna, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia. The Marathas made the Emperor grant to them in return for their protection the districts of Kora and Allahabad, which were in the respective possessions of Shujaud Daulah and the English. The grant, however, never took effect (Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, pp. 361-62).

4. **60,000 Men** (p. 158)—According to Browne's memorandum the Mughal army in 1782 consisted of 91,217 men, of whom 10,250 were in *mahals* and 80,967 in the armies. The horsemen numbered 32,246 and the footmen 58,971 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 315(28)).

5. **Salatin** (p. 160)—*Salatin*, plural of sultan. *Salatin* means kings or princes. Here, princes of the collateral branches of the royal family.

6. **Coin** (p. 161)—The Sikhs struck rupees for the first time in 1756. Jassa Singh Kalal, in celebration of the Sikh conquest of Lahore, struck rupee coins bearing his name. But the *Jassa* rupees were subsequently withdrawn and new coins were struck with an inscription that "Guru Govind Singh received from Nanak *Deg* (grace), *Tegh* (power), and *Fateh* (rapid victory)". These coins were called 'Govind Shahi' coins and became current throughout the Sikh dominions (Browne, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 19, 27; Cunningham, *op. cit.* pp. 98, 104).

Letter No. 79

1. **Shu Sing** (p. 161)—Sheo Singh was the commandant of the regiment stationed in the parganas of Malikpur and Ahar. He was taken by the mutinous soldiers across the Ganges and then expelled.

2. **a pergunnah near this place** (p. 161)—Perhaps Ahar pargana, the capital of which, a town of the same name, was seven miles north of Anupshahr and was situated on the Ganges.

Letter No. 80

1. **Agent** (p. 162)—Mr. Bird was secretary to Major Browne (*I.C.E.*, Vol. II, App., p. 122).

2. **Narwar Rajah's** (p. 162)—Town and district now in Gwalior state. Under the Mughals, Narwar was held by the Kacchwahs as feudatories of Delhi. In 1781, Mahi Bahadur Singh was the Raja of Narwar. In the beginning of that year some Maratha chiefs dispossessed him of most of his territories for his refusal to join them against the English. In the treaty concluded between the English and Mahadji in October 1781, some of the parganas were surrendered to Sindia in spite of protests from Raja Hari Singh of Narwar. The original holder are still represented in the Raja of Peron (Luard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 108, 962, 1381).

3. **I was personally a Witness** (p. 162)—About the middle of 1780 James Browne, then Captain, commanding a battalion of light infantry, was directed by the Board to proceed to Gohad for service under Major Camac (Sec. Cons. 21 August 1780, No. 24). In November 1780, he was encamped at Narwar. It was apparently at this time that he came to know the Raja

of Narwar.

Letter No. 81

1. **Answer of the Board to letters** (p. 163)—See Forrest, *Selections . . . For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1087-90.

Letter No. 82

1. **the old Nawaub** (p. 164)—Majdud Daulah. He was arrested on 30 May 1784. For Afrasiab's reasons, see *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1134, 1159. According to Francklin, Majdud was arrested because he had opposed the King's march to Agra as proposed by Afrasiab Khan.

2. **Mirza Hedaat ullah Beg** (p. 164)—Mirza Hidayatullah Beg. He was a confidant of Majdud Daulah. He subsequently attached himself to Major Browne (*Ibrat-Nama* quoted in Sarkar's article on Browne's Mission in *I.H.R.C. Progs*, 1937, Vol. XIV, p. 15). Browne also describes Hidayatullah as belonging to him (*Ibid.*, p. 17, Browne's *Narrative*, dated May 1785).

3. **a Letter from the Governor** (p. 164)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1142.

4. **Meherban Khan** (p. 164)—Mihrbhan Khan was the cousin of Shuja Dil Khan, commandant of Agra fort, father of Afrasiab Khan's Afghan wife (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 297). He was a confidant of Afrasiab Khan (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1318 and Vol. VII, No. 315 (67 & 69). He was also in the confidence of Major Browne. He along with Salahuddin Khan was entrusted by Browne with all matters to be communicated to Afrasiab Khan (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 315(54). On the death of Afrasiab Khan, when Mahadji was supreme in Delhi, he seconded Browne's efforts to get Sindia restore Majdud Daulah to his former position (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1533).

Enclosure 62 to Letter No. 82

1. **Confining the . . . Behadur** (p. 165)—Majdud Daulah Abdul Ahad Khan was imprisoned on 30 May 1784. According to Sadashiv Dinkar, Afrasiab decided to take this step under instructions from Sindia on account of Majdud's pro-English policy (*Hist. Papers M.S.*, No. 311).

2. **from the presence . . . Amaud ud Dowla** (p. 165)—See Hastings's letter of 7 June 1784 to Afrasiab Khan (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI., No. 1142).

3. **19th Rejib** (p. 165)—i.e., 8 June 1784.

4. **13th Instant** (p. 165)—i.e., 2 June 1784. This letter as well as the other written to Afrasiab from Lucknow is missing. Browne communicated their substance to Mr. Bird in his letter of 3 June (Letter No. 81).

5. **that this happened . . . Commands** (p. 165)—Afrasiab's own version of the arrest is as follows : "...Mudged ud Dowlah used always to give them (the Sikhs) Confidence, and having produced thro' their Means devastations in the Mahals of the royal Khalsa he used to pay them something under the pretence of Raakee (Rakhi), and at the time of settling

accounts he used to take Credit in them for a large sum belonging to his Majesty... and thus not the smallest Fraction of a Rupee was received into the Royal Treasury.... He (His Majesty) then commanded me to bring (on 30 May).... Majed ud Dowla out of his House and Confine him in a tent and to take out of his Hands the management of the Royal Concerns...." (Afrasiab to Hastings, received 1 June 1784, *TR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 158, 160). *See also* letter received from Afrasiab, dated 20 June (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1159) and letter from Shah Alam defending Afrasiab's action (*Ibid.*, No. 1158). That the real sentiments of the Emperor were the very opposite is clearly established by his letter to Hastings written sometime in May (*Ibid.*, No. 1122) revealing his anxiousness for the personal safety of Abdul Ahad Khan.

6. **three months....Koran** (p. 165-6)—The reference is to the agreement arrived at between Afrasiab and Abdul Ahad sometime between 27 January and 6 February. *See* Enclosure 46 and notes.

7. **a year Since....towards you** (p. 166)—Abdul Ahad appears to have lent his support to the party opposed to Shafi as early as August 1783 or even earlier. He formally declared in favour of Afrasiab sometime before 24 August 1783 and invited Major Browne to connect himself with that chief (Browne's letter No. 46). *See also* in this connection Enclosures 39, 44.

8. **Neabut** (p. 166)—*Naibat* i.e., deputyship. Abdul Ahad acted as the deputy of the Vazir at the imperial court from 22 May 1773 to 27 February 1774 when the post was taken from him and bestowed on Mirza Najaf (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 88). He appears to have regained this position during Mirza Shafi's second regency (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 831).

9. **Signature** (p. 166)—A mistranslation of *dastkhat* which should be rendered as 'autograph letter'.

Letter No. 84

1. **Treaty** (p. 167)—*See* Governor General's letter to Afrasiab Khan, dated 26 June and letter to the King, dated 24 July. These refer to some plans for a more efficient management of the royal affairs (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1167, 1224).

2. **the Shah should return to the palace** (p. 167)—Afrasiab started for Agra with the Emperor on 26 June and reached there on 6 August. Afrasiab's intention was to punish Hamdani with the help of Sindia. He had despaired of receiving any assistance from the English.

Letter No. 85

1. **permanent States** (p. 168)—The Court of Directors had prohibited interference in the disputes of the country powers. Hastings's view was that this prohibition was limited to such country powers as were permanent. *See* Hastings's letter to Court, 16 June 1784, quoted in charge No. 18 of his impeachment (*I.C.E.*, Parliamentary Proceedings, Vol. I, p. 185).

2. **Mahls....granted to him** (p. 168)—When Shah Alam returned

to Delhi for Allahabad, Jawan Bakht received an independent *jagir* for his maintenance in the parganas of Rohtak and Singhana which were included.

3. **Deig** (p. 168)—Dig, town in the state of Bharatpur, Rajputana. It is 22 miles west of Mathura. It came into the possession of the Jats about the beginning of the 18th century, but was wrested from them in 1776 by Najaf Khan.

4. **Right.... of Akbarabad** (p. 168)—The charge of the major provinces including Agra was given to princes and nobles of the highest rank.

5. **Litaufut Aly Cawn....Shuja O'Dowlah** (p. 169)—This is evidently a mistake. He was really deputed by Nawab Asafud Daulah (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1122).

6. **Currency of Shahjehanabad** (p. 169)—Shah Alam's coins weighed about 175 grams.

Letter No. 86

1. **Cawnpore** (p. 171)—In 1778 the place was selected as one of the two military stations which the British were allowed to establish by the treaty of Faizabad, 1773. The other was Fatehgarh.

Letter No. 87

1. **Shoka from his Majesty** (p. 171)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1470.

2. **Muttra** (p. 171)—Mathura, headquarters of the district of the same name in U.P. It is situated on the right bank of the Jumna on the main road from Agra to Delhi. It was a favourite plain of Mahadji Sindia who made it his headquarters on his assuming authority in Delhi affairs.

Letter No. 89

1. **Mursan** (p. 173)—A small town in Aligarh district which was included in Afrasiab Khan's *jagir*, about 25 miles from Aligarh.

Letter No. 90

1. **Rajah Akbal Aly Khan** (p. 174)—Akbar Ali Khan was often sent to Calcutta by Bahu Begam, widow of Shujaud Daulah, as her vakil. He also represented other persons, viz., Almas Ali Khan, Najaf Khan, on occasions. He subsequently lost the confidence of Bahu Begam (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 169).

Letter No. 91

1. **Mr. J. Anderson** (p. 175)—James Anderson, became Lieutenant in July 1778. He accompanied his brother David Anderson, who was sent on an embassy to the court of Sindia in 1782, as his assistant. He took over temporary charge from his brother on 3 November 1783 (Sec. Cons. 16 December 1783, No. 18) when the latter left Sindia's court (Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army*, Vol. I; Buckland, *op. cit.*). James remained Resident upto 20 December 1786.

Letter No. 92

1. **Mahajee Scindea** . . . **Letter** (p. 176)—Received on 5 July. See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1191; *TR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 205-06 and also Hastings's letter in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1167.

2. **some Circumstances** (p. 176)—See the correspondence between Hastings and the Council at Calcutta on the affairs of Prince Jawan Bakht (Forrest, *Selections..For. Dept.*, Vol. III; Wheler's minute, Sec. Cons. 20 May 1784, No. 1; Sec. Cons. 8 June 1784, No. 7A).

3. **Mr. Jas. Anderson** . . . **Scindia** (p. 176)—James Anderson had come to Lucknow with Bhao Bakhshi, Sindia's confidential minister, sometime between 14 May and 7 June. He started back for Sindia's camp about 24 July and reached the camp somewhere near Gwallior early in August (Forrest, *Selections..For. Dept.*, Vol. III, p. 1027; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1101, 1141, 1223, 1255).

4. **Instructions** (p. 176)—The purport of these instructions may be had from Hastings's report on the Jawan Bakht episode (Forrest, *Selections..For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1026-27).

Enclosure 63 to Letter No. 93

1. **Treaty** (p. 179)—i.e., draft of a treaty as proposed by Browne conforming to the instructions of Warren Hastings, 27 June 1784. This is the 'sketch' referred by him in his letter to Hastings, 18 August 1784.

2. **Signature** (p. 180)—i.e., autograph superscription. Shah Alam did not approve the treaty but made certain observations in his own hand on the first five articles leaving the remaining articles to be considered by Afrasiab Khan. See Browne's letter No. 93.

3. **a Sunnud of Russaleh** (p. 180)—*Sanad* of *risala*, i.e., a *sanad* conferring on the Prince the charge of a *risala*. See Hastings's letter to Browne, 27 June 1784, para. 3, Letter No. 85.

4. **fortified Fort** (p. 180)—Hastings's suggestion was that the fortress of Dig should be demanded for this purpose (*Ibid.*, para. 3).

5. **Dukhun** (p. 181)—Reference is presumably not to all states of the Deccan but to the other Maratha states only.

6. **Answer to the Articles** (p. 181)—These are what purported to be Shah Alam's personal remarks on the first five articles of the proposed treaty.

7. **nomination of the Naib** (p. 182)—At the conference at Chapra in July 1766 Shah Alam was persuaded by Lord Clive to reappoint Shujaud Daulah to the office of Vazir on the condition that Munirud Daulah should act as the *Naib* Vazir in the imperial presence (*C.P.C.*, Vol. II, Nos. 948, 950-51, 1044). His three successors one after another, Saifuddin Muhammad Kashmeri, Hisamud Daulah and Abdul Ahad Khan, were chosen by the King too. Munirud Daulah and his two successors were also dismissed at his pleasure.

Enclosure 64 to Letter No. 93

1. **Arzee** (p. 182)—This was addressed some time between 23 July and 18 August (Letter Nos. 92-93).

Letter No. 94

1. **Viziers Naib** (p. 183)—This title does not occur in the copy sent to Browne. See Enclosure 65. But it is mentioned in the copy sent as enclosure to Afrasiab Khan's letter to Hastings (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1366).

2. **a District with a Lac of Rupees** (p. 183)—Mentioned in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1366, but not in Enclosure 65.

3. **3d Article** (p. 183)—It should be 2nd article.

4. **imprudent addition** (p. 183)—It is not very clear what additions he made unless it be the substitution of the words "the ministers of the presence" for a possible original 'him'.

5. **5th Article** (p. 183)—It should be 4th article.

Enclosure 65 to Letter No. 94

1. **Treaty** (p. 184)—This proposed agreement as well as the following to be signed by the Prince and Afrasiab Khan respectively are not available in full in the National Archives of India. A complete version of both is to be found in *TR*, Vol. XXII. These have been reproduced in Enclosure 65.

2. **1st Showal** (p. 184)—1 *Shawwal*, i. e., 18 August 1784.

3. **Offices of Ameer ul Omra and Buckshee** (p. 184)—i.e., the office of the first *Bakhshi* who seems to have received, almost as of right, the title of *Amir-ul-Umara* (Noble of Nobles). Irvine assures us that since the reign of Alamgir I, he is aware of no instance of this title being granted to more than one man at a time (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 38). The first *Bakhshi* was styled either *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik* (*Bakhshi* of the Realm) or *Mir Bakhshi* (Lord *Bakhshi*). Regarding his duties see Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure* and Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Enclosure 66 to Letter No. 94

1. **Draft** (p. 185)—This is the draft as finally approved by Afrasiab Khan (Letter No. 93) and should be read together with the articles 6, 7 and 8 of Browne's original draft (Enclosure 63).

Letter No. 95

1. **now** (p. 187)—i.e., in connection with the proposed treaty.

2. **esteemed in the same light** (p. 187)—i. e., unpractical, because based on his expectation of British help which cannot be given.

Enclosure 69 to Letter No. 97

1. **2nd Zehedge** (p. 190)—Probably an error for 2nd *Zil-qada* (11th month of the lunar year), i.e., 17 September 1784. This paper was enclosed with Browne's letter of 18 September.

2. **Kroli** (p. 190)—Karauli. The Rana appears to have reached Karauli sometime before 8 March 1784 (*Hist. Papers M. S.*, No. 289).

Letter No. 98

1. **your Letter** (p. 190)—See Browne's letter No. 99.

2. **3 other Shahzadas** (p. 191)—Please refer to the relevant portions in the text of the Prince's letter. The portion "Further it is my desire that three other princes fit for affairs may reside at the Presence" seems to be an inaccurate rendering of the original Persian, as it is not in keeping with the subsequent portions.

3. **Companies of English Sepoys** (p. 191)—As a result of some changes in the formation of the sepoy units after the war with the Marathas, the strength of company was reduced from 100 to 70 men. A lieutenant was at the head of each company (Cardew, *op. cit.*).

4. **Battalions** (p. 191)—Each battalion consisted of five companies of sepoys (Williams, *Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry*).

5. **Settara** (p. 193)—Satara, district in Bombay. Kings of Shivaji's line resided here, while the real ruler, the Peshwa, held his court at Poona.

Enclosure 70 to Letter No. 98

1. **Suckhanna** (p. 195)—Copyist's error for "Singhana". Browne in his letter, 30 September 1784, mentions Singhana as one of the parganas claimed by Prince Jahandar Shah. See Letter No. 102 and notes. The place was at this time in the possession of the Shekhawat clan of Rajputs who were feudal vassals of the Raja of Jaipur (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 212).

2. **as the said. Accommodation** (p. 195)—This must have been in consequence of the failure of Murtaza Khan's expedition to Jaipur in 1781. When Najaf Khan had to agree to relinquish all the territory seized in Jaipur and the Shekhawat country excepting Narnaul and Hindaun (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 205, 208, 212).

3. **Atta Ulla Khan** (p. 195)—Maulvi Ataullah Khan. He probably held some post in the Mughal court. His name appears in the list of officers who presented themselves to Shah Alam in *Diwan-i-Khas* on the morning of 24 August (Intelligence from the court, 10 *Zil-qada* in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 1599). His name is commemorated by a mosque erected by him which still bears his name (*List of Monuments, Delhi Province*, Vol. I, pp. 180-81).

4. **Thirdly he has written** (p. 195)—See Enclosure 65. The corresponding passage reads "when his Majesty shall return to Delhi I will when necessary obtain from his Majesty leave for his Highness to settle the Royal affairs."

Letter No. 99

1. **Mahdagée Scindea..Gwalier** (p. 198)—Mahadji had at first proposed to leave Gwalior for the imperial camp on 2 August but he could

not till 26 August. He had reached the first stage, 7 *coss* from Gwalior. But further progress was prevented by heavy rains and he came back to Gwalior on 5 September. He resumed his march on 24 September (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 274).

2. **13th September** (p. 199)—The letter is dated Lucknow, 13 September. It must have been an error of the copyist. Hastings left Lucknow on 27 August (Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*, Vol. III, p. 195; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1306). He reached Benares on 12 September (Forrest, *Selections... For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1111, 1116).

Enclosure 71 to Letter No. 100

1. **4 Crore of Rupees** (p. 200)—According to Manucci (*Storia de Mogor*, p. 413), the revenue of Bengal reached this figure during his stay at the Mughal court. Thomas following Catron refers this figure to the year 1697, i. e., during Aurangzeb's reign. The authenticity of Manucci's figures is, however, doubted by Irvine. See his comment on Manucci's statement (Manucci, *op. cit.*, p. 413 n).

2. **His late Majesty** (p. 200)—Alamgir II (1754-59).

3. **eight years** (p. 200)—This would roughly correspond to the period 1172-79 A. H. (1758-65) during which Shah Alam was an exile and made futile attempts to reconquer the eastern provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

4. **Some time at Allahabad** (p. 200)—i.e., from February 1765 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. I, No. 2593) to 9 April 1771, the date of his departure for Delhi (*C.P.C.*, Vol. III, No. 720).

5. **engaged for 26 Lac of Rupees** (p. 200)—The engagement was signed on 19 August 1765 (Select Progs. 1765, pp. 167-68). The English engaged to stand guarantee for the regular payment of the tribute "in consideration of his Majesty's having been graciously pleased to grant them the Dewany of Bengal etc." It appears from *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 408) that Mir Qasim on his first meeting with Shah Alam on 12 March 1761 (Chatterji, *Mir Qasim*, p. 60 n) had agreed to pay the Emperor 24 lakhs of rupees annually from the revenues of the three provinces. Robert Clive's letter to the Council, dated 12 August (Select Progs. 1765, p. 148), makes it clear that the tribute was fixed at 26 lakhs on the basis of what purported to have been stipulated between Shah Alam and Mir Qasim. Of the total sum, 2 lakhs were reserved as Najaf Khan's stipend.

6. **they gave a Writing** (p. 201)—This does not appear among the articles of the agreement of 19 August 1765. There was no stipulation either to the effect that Shah Alam was entitled to the tribute only as long as he resided in Allahabad.

7. **one year's money** (p. 201)—It is learnt from a letter from Shah Alam, received in Calcutta on 10 April 1771, that a balance of six lakhs of rupees was still due from the Company (*C.P.C.*, Vol. III, No. 701). An instalment of six lakhs was remitted to him early in 1772 with the promise of another to follow (*C.P.C.*, Vol. III, No. 1038).

8. **at the Time..Shah Jehanabad** (p. 201)—He entered Delhi on 25 December 1771 (Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 37).

9. **surrendered..Vizier** (p. 202)—This was done under article 4 of the treaty of Benares between the Company and Shujaud Daulah on 7 September 1773 (Aitchison, *Treaties etc.*, Vol. II, p. 104).

10. **General Barker** (p. 202)—Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker (1729-89). He was the commander-in-chief of the Bengal army from March 1770 to June 1774, when he resigned owing to his differences with Hastings. He was a staunch supporter of Shah Alam's claims to the Bengal tribute and made a strong protest in October 1773 (Secret Progs. 1773, 4 and 12 October). The letter of Sir Robert referred to by Shah Alam is not traceable.

11. **People...to the Marhattas** (p. 202)—Shah Alam wrote to Sir Robert at the time of the cession in the following manner "We are now fallen into the hands of the Marathas. At the time it is necessary to confirm a peace with the Marattah and give him admission into Corah and Currah on condition that they return home. After they shall have retired you will receive us." The letter was received by Barker on 6 March 1773, i.e., nearly two months after Shah Alam had been compelled to surrender to the Marathas.

12. **26 Lac...has been delayed** (p. 202)—The policy of withholding the imperial tribute permanently had been decided under the inspiration of Warren Hastings who even before his assumption of office had become convinced of the impolicy of making further payments. He had written to Purling as early as 22 March 1772. "I think I may promise that no more payment will be made while he (Shah Alam) is in the hands of the Marathas, nor if I can prevent it ever more." It is interesting to note that during Hastings's regime at least Shah Alam was never formally told that he had forfeited all his claims to the tribute, though the Court's letter of 3 March 1775 makes it sufficiently clear that no remittance was to be made to him without their express permission.

Letter No. 101

1. **Mullek Mohamed Khan** (p. 202)—Malik Muhammad Khan was appointed *naib* of Dig by Afrasiab Khan in 1784. In 1787 he fought on the side of the Raja of Jainagar against Sindia. He was with Ismail Beg when the latter captured the city of Agra and invested the fort. But next year he deserted him and joined Ranjit Singh Jat (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 415).

2. **Futtapore** (p. 202)—Evidently Fatehpur Sikri, 23 miles west of Agra city.

3. **he had arrived within 6 Coss of Futtapore** (p. 202)—Hamdani "formed an entrenched camp guarded by artillery near Sayyidpura.... nine miles south of Bharatpur and eleven miles west of Fathpur-Sikri" (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 276-77).

4. **Afrasiab Khans Army moved** (p. 202)—Afrasiab taking all his troops and guns as well as the Maratha advance guard of 6,000 men

under Ambaji Ingle had set out westwards from Agra on 23 September to fight Muhammad Beg and halted near Khanua, 8 miles west of Fatehpur Sikri, waiting for Sindia's approach (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 276).

5. **Ambajee** (p. 202)—He played an important part in Mahadji's negotiations with the Delhi sirdars. On the fall of Gohad he was appointed governor of that place. In 1803 he surrendered the fort to the British and concluded a separate peace with them. Subsequently he was appointed Daulat Rao's minister. He died in 1810 (Duff, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 303, 323).

6. **Troops to the No. of about 3,000** (p. 202)—6,000, according to Sarkar (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 276).

7. **Treaty with Hamdany** (p. 203)—Negotiations with Hamdani had been opened by Mahadji but no treaty appears to have been concluded (Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25).

8. **previous one** (p. 203)—The alliance was cemented towards the close of October 1784 (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 277-78).

Letter No. 102

1. **Shah's Shoka** (p. 203)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1365 and *TR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 307-09.

2. **Afrasiab Khan's Letter** (p. 203)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1366. For a further comprehension *TR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 309-18 should be consulted.

3. **all this Country . . . into Jaidads** (p. 203)—He parcelled out the portion of the realm still obedient to the Crown among his lieutenants. Below these barons there were petty leaders of bands whom he paid by the grant of small estates (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 229-30).

4. **Nawaub's own districts** (p. 203)—Aligarh and Jaleswar districts.

5. **he only . . . 4 Companies** (p. 204)—See Afrasiab Khan's letter to Hastings, received on 7 October 1784 in *TR*, Vol. XXII, p. 313. The summary of the same in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1366 has missed this point.

6. **your own Body Guard** (p. 204)—Formed in 1773, its strength varied from 100 to 300 men (Sec. Cons. 13 January 1785, No. 3; Cardew, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 456).

7. **Rajah of Berar** (p. 205)—Mudhoji Bhonsla (1772-88). The English government was in need of the friendship of the Raja of Nagpur because it was necessary to safeguard the southern frontier of Bengal from predatory incursions and also to secure the smooth passage of troops and supply of provisions from Bengal through Cuttack to the Carnatic. A state of chronic antagonism existed between the Peshwas and the Bhonslas. Hastings knew this and neutralised Bhonsla with a bribe during the first Maratha war. But a regular alliance between the Berar Raja and the English could not take place as the English had repudiated the Maratha claims to *chauth* from Bengal and Bihar (*P. R. C.*, Vol. V, Foreword and Introduction).

Letter No. 103

1. **your Commands of the 27th Ulmo**. (p. 205)—See Browne's letter No. 104.

2. **Scindia will not pass the Chumbul** (p. 205)—As a matter of fact, he crossed the Chambal without waiting for the arrival of Afrasiab Khan.

Letter No. 104

1. **Scindia has now actually set out** (p. 206)—He started from Gwalior on 28 September and arrived at Rupbas, 9 miles southwest of Fatehpur Sikri on 22 October (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 275-76).

Letter No. 105

1. **Joypore and Machery Rajahs** (p. 206)—Sawai Pratap Singh of Jaipur succeeded to the throne in 1778 on the death of his brother Prithvi Singh and ruled until 1803. He was a boy of 13 at the time of his accession. Under him the administration was utterly neglected and there was a terrible confusion in the state.

Pratap Singh Naruka was the founder of the Alwar state, formerly known as Macheri. Born in 1740, he rose from a petty *jagirdar* to be the founder of the independent state of Macheri between 1771 and 1776. He got the title of Rao Raja from Emperor Shah Alam II and a *sanad* for Macheri directly from him. In 1775 the Jat commander of the Alwar fort surrendered it to Pratap Singh who transferred his capital thither. He died in 1791.

2. **personal Interests** (p. 206)—The Jaipur Raja was habitually in arrears of tribute. Najaf Khan, in spite of his efforts, failed to collect more than a meagre portion, the Raja always making promises but evading payment. From 1782 to 1784 nothing was paid by the Raja who took advantage of the weakness of the Delhi government to stop payment. The nearness of Afrasiab Khan raised apprehensions of renewal of demands and the Raja perhaps sought to appease him by offering him help against his enemy. Another reason was probably that Hamdani was creating disturbances on the eastern border of the Jaipur and Macheri kingdoms. By helping Afrasiab Khan they hoped to get rid of Hamdani.

3. **Mahommed Begs Jaghier** (p. 207)—During Najaf Khan's lifetime the Agra-Dholpur region including the conquests from the Jats was held by Hamdani. Following Hamdani's quarrels with Shafi in 1782, he held his post in open defiance of the imperial government. Scindia on his way to Rupbas, had occupied the fort of Dholpur and taken possession of the districts of Dholpur and Bari (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 275).

4. **Afrasiab Khan in Camp** (p. 207)—At Khanua.

Letter No. 106

1. **Scindia and Afrasiab Khan met the 22d** (p. 208)—According to Sarkar, it is 23rd (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 277).

Letter No. 107

1. **your Letter of the 20th** (p. 210)—See Browne's letter No. 108.

2. **Compiler of the Seik History** (p. 211)—This Sikh history, presumably written in Persian, was not the same as that translated by Browne in his *India Tracts*. His English translation is that of a book translated into Persian from original Nagri by two Hindus of Lahore (Browne, *op. cit.*, History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs—Introduction, pp. iii-iv).

3. **His Majestys... 7th of November** (p. 212)—Afrasiab Khan's murder on 2 November upset his plans. He left Agra on the 10th on the invitation of Mahadji and reached Khanua on the 12th (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 288).

Enclosure 73 to Letter No. 107

1. **Letter from the Governor General** (p. 212)—See Browne's letter No. 108.

Enclosure 74 to Letter No. 107

This corresponds to *TR*, Vol. XXII, No. 83 (Enclosure 1), p. 354. For the original Persian version see Original of Receipts 19 November 1784, Nos. 97-98.

1. **Substance of the royal writing** (p. 213)—The royal *dastkhat* was affixed on 12 *Zulhijja*, i.e., 28 October (*TR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 351-59).

2. **6th Zehedge** (p. 214)—6 *Zulhijja*, i.e., 22 October. See Browne's letter No. 108 and Gleig, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 211.

3. **13th Inst.** (p. 214)—13 *Zulhijja* or 29 October. The date was later changed to 14 *Zulhijja* (30 October) but the Prince did not actually start till 16 November (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1490).

4. **Sahle Messaadod Ghazi** (p. 214)—Salar Masud-i-Ghazi, the hero of the celebrated romance, *Mirat-i-Masudi*, composed by Abdur Rahman Chisti about 1611 A.D. The author represents the hero as a nephew of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and as obtaining his martyrdom in 1033 A.D. during his invasion of Oudh. The sepulchre associated with his name is situated at Bahraich and is still regarded as a place of pilgrimage by Hindus as well as Muslims. The building was probably erected in the 13th century A.D. (*The Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VI, pp. 206-07). The tomb was visited by the Prince on 17 *Muharram*, i.e., 1 December 1784 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1519).

Letter No. 108

1. **He will set... the 29th** (p. 215)—The Prince left on 31 October. For reasons see *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1473, 1490. In No. 1473 read 16 *Zulhijja* (31 October) instead of 16 November. See also *TR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 351-54.

2. **Furrukabad** (p. 215)—Farrukhabad. Founded by Muhammad Khan Bangash about 1714, the state remained independent until the death of Ahmad Khan Bangash about 1771, when it became tributary to Oudh. In 1771 British troops were stationed at Fatehgarh, 3 miles east of the

city of Farrukhabad, and from 1780-85 a British Resident was stationed here.

3. **Mr. Wheler** (p. 215)—Edward Wheler (1733-84). He became member of the supreme Council at Calcutta in 1777 in succession to Colonel Monson. At one time he was much opposed to Hastings, but later supported him steadily in the Council. He died in October 1784 (Buckland, *op. cit.*, p. 499). But he was not Hastings's 'supple, worn-down, beaten, cowed, and I am afraid, bribed colleague' as stigmatised by Burke (Wheler's minute, 19 May 1784, Sec. Cons. 20 May 1784, No. 1).

Letter No. 109

1. **a private soldier** (p. 215)—Francklin says that his name was Maddoo Beg. He was immediately cut to pieces (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 126).

Letter No. 110

1. **Zein ul Abedien....Scindias Camp** (p. 216)—Sindia's camp was at Rupbas, five miles away. Sindia refused to admit him to his presence but sent him to Mirza Ghiyasuddin's tent to be kept there under guard (Sec. Cons. 23 November 1784, No. 4A; *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1494).

2. **admitted him to his Confidence** (p. 216)—According to Francklin, Zainul Abidin had been detained since his last abortive attempt in a sort of honourable confinement. He was released at the particular request of Sindia (Francklin, *op. cit.*, p. 125).

3. **enclosed paper** (p. 216)—See Sec. Cons. 23 November 1784, No. 4A or *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1494.

4. **Kelahdar of Agra** (p. 216)—*Qiladar*, commandant of a fort. Shuja Dil Khan was the *Qiladar*. On Sindia's appointment as regent, Shuja Dil refused to surrender the fort to him but was forced to do so on 27 March, on being promised *jagirs* worth Rs. 52,000 a year (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 298-99).

Enclosure 75 to Letter No. 111

This was enclosed with Browne's letter, 5 November 1784 (No. 111).

1. **Treaty** (p. 217)—i.e., the engagement enclosed with Browne's petition.

2. **three Shookahs** (p. 217)—Not traceable.

3. **Rajah Dehram Bahader** (p. 217)—Raja Dayaram Pandit, also spelt as 'Dyaram' or 'Diaram'. Following the agreement of 1765 between Shah Alam and the East India Company, he was appointed to represent the former in Calcutta and was entrusted with the duty of receiving the tribute on behalf of the Emperor (*C.P.C.*, Vol. IV, No. 846). It was through him that the Emperor sent his repeated representations to the English authorities against the suspension of the Bengal tribute. He took his job seriously and once as a means of compelling the English to resume payments he advised his constituent to take Mir Qasim in his service (*C.P.C.*, Vol. IV,

No. 912). He was opposed to Sindia's assumption of the regency and in 1785 he sent a frantic appeal to Prince for countermanding Sindia's move. He was executed by Sindia on 29 May 1787 for his opposition to him (*P.R.C.*, Vol. I).

Letter No. 113

1. **he has attacked...Hamdany** (p. 220)—On 7 November, after Hamdani refused to surrender all his artillery, elephants, horses and camels as demanded by Sindia (*Sarkar, Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 284-85).

2. **Khadem Hussein Khan** (p. 220)—Khadim Husain Khan, son of Afrasiab Khan. Marked consideration was shown to him by Sindia (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1550).

3. **Scindia...as Hamdany's** (p. 220)—According to Francklin, Sindia's army numbered 30,000 men (*Francklin, op. cit.*, p. 123).

4. **he will...for Life** (p. 221)—Sindia transferred him to the fort of Gwalior for a lifelong imprisonment (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1550).

5. **Orders of his Majesty** (p. 221)—Shah Alam ordered the release of Nawab Majdud Daulah and called him to his court (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1544).

6. **his Confinement** (p. 221)—A slightly different version is found in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1550.

7. **Shah's people...Mujid ul Dowlah** (p. 221)—He deputed two guards to wait on Majdud Daulah in order to see that he was not maltreated (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1550).

8. **yesterday** (p. 221)—i.e., 7th. According to Sarkar, who does not cite any authority (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 288), Shah Alam left Agra on the 10th and passing the next day at Fatchpur Sikri reached Khanua on the 12th.

9. **Pindarries** (p. 221)—Mounted marauders in India in the 17th and 18th centuries. They "are a low tribe of robbers entertained by some of the princes of the Deccan, to plunder and lay waste the territories of their enemies and to serve for guides" (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 711-13).

Letter No. 114

1. **Hamdany...his Guns** (p. 222)—Hamdani's effects contained 41 pieces of cannon, 1,100 muskets and 22 matchlocks (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1550). According to Sarkar he had 46 guns (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 286).

2. **Appagee Kondo Row** (p. 223)—Appa Khande Rao, whose real name was Khanderao Hari Bhalerao, was one of Mahadji's leading generals in North India. He also acted as Mahadji's agent during the latter's negotiations with Shah Alam (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 124 n).

3. **He has also applied to the Vizier** (p. 223)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1534.

Letter No. 115

1. **his Majesty...a Shoka** (p. 223)—The *shugqa* was actually sent,

See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1532, 1544 (1) & (2) and Enclosure 76. Mahadji also wrote to the Prince asking him not to enter Delhi with any troops (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1544 (3)).

Letter No. 116

1. **last address** (p. 224)—Public address, the communication of the 23 November being of a private nature.

2. **The 14th. his Majesty** (p. 224)—The date given in *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1550 is obviously wrong.

3. **no people. Scindia** (p. 224)—Confirmed by the Dilliyethil etc. (D.Y.) quoted by Sarkar in *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 292.

Enclosure 76 to Letter No. 116

1. **royal Shokeh** (p. 225)—This corresponds to *TR*, Vol. XXII, No. 94, Enclosure 2, pp. 406-10.

2. **last day of Mohurrum 1198 Year** (p. 225)—Obviously a mistake for "last day of *Mohurrum* 1199" equivalent to 13 December 1784.

3. **At this Time** (p. 225)—Mahadji obtained his introduction to the royal court on 14 November and was offered the regency of the Empire on the 17th.

4. **the fortunate Son. to the presence** (p. 225)—For Hastings's correspondence with Mahadji regarding the settlement of the Prince's affairs see *TI*, Vol. XXX, Nos. 39, 44-45, 51, 53, 65, 67 and *TR*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 53, 58, 71. His minute recorded in the Secret Department on 14 December 1784 (Forrest, *Selections... For. Dept.*, Vol. III, pp. 1126-27) contains the full history of his proceedings.

Letter No. 117

1. **His Majesty... Vakeel ul Mutulluck** (p. 226)—Browne's letter to the Prince (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1541) and Anderson's letter to Hastings (Sec. Cons. 28 December 1784, No. 4) corroborate this. But Sarkar, relying on Marathi records (*Hist. Papers M. S.*) says that while the Peshwa was made *Naib-i-Muniah* and *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik* on 1 December, the superior title of *Vakil-i-Mullaq* was bestowed on Mahadji on 3 December. Taj Mahal Begam, writing to Jahandar Shah, also informs him that on Mahadji was bestowed the title of Vazir and *Bakhshi*. For Hastings's attitude towards Sindia's acquisition of this dignity see his minute, Sec. Cons. 28 December 1784, No. 9.

2. **Muir-Muratib** (p. 226)—*Mahi-maratib* in Persian. Certain honours conferred on princes and great nobles, denoted by the figure of fish with other insignia which were carried as ensigns upon elephants (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 1,147). But Irvine reads the word as *mahi-o-maratib* (fish and dignities) and takes the first word to denote the fish emblem and the second, the balls and other adjuncts which went with it. He points out that "James Skinner, who recovered Mahadaji-Sendhia's *mahi-o-maratib* in a fight with the Rajputs, speaks of it as a brass fish with

two chourees (horse-hair tails) hanging to it like moustachios." It was one of the very highest honours as it was not granted to nobles below the rank of 6,000 (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 33).

3. **Shahzada..Lucnow** (p. 226)—He was confined to bed for about 2 weeks (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1528).

Letter No. 118

1. **This Morning** (p. 227)—5 December. According to Sarkar, it is 4 December (*Fall*, Vol. III, p. 294).

2. **Nalkey** (p. 227) --*Nalki*, a kind of litter. It is one of the three insignias which the Mughal Emperors conferred upon independent princes of the first class and which could not be used by any person upon whom or upon whose ancestors they had not been so conferred. The other two were the order of the fish and the fan of peacock's feathers.

3. **The Rana of Gohud....Scindea** (p. 227)—The Rana crossed the Chambal to Karauli with the help of Nyahala Pal, a brother of Manik Pal, and was escorted by him to the palace. Manik Pal himself had no knowledge of the arrival of the Rana. When Sindia's envoy arrived at Karauli bearing his letter, the Raja at first denied knowledge and then wrote to Sindia agreeing to hand over the Rana to him (*Hist. Papers M.S.*, No. 289).

4. **Rajah of Karowly** (p. 227)—Raja Manik Pal who reigned from 1772 to 1804 (*Eastern Rajputana States Gazetteer*, p. 320).

5. **Scindia..to Gualiar** (p. 227)—After the capture of Gohad by Sindia, the Rana fled across the Chambal to Karauli. Mahadji pursued him and ultimately captured him and confined him in the fort of Gwalior (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 190 n).

Letter No. 119

1. **The great Camp....Dehly** (p. 228)—Movements of the Sikh army in the first part of January are not traceable. It is known, however, that they plundered Chandausi on 14 January (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 14). Major Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, gives 15 January as the date of the plunder (Letter quoted in Ganda Singh's article in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 1267).

Letter No. 120

1. **Mogul Garrison....removed** (p. 228)—The fort had been placed in charge of Malik Muhammad Khan by Afrasaib Khan. The garrison on being paid their arrears evacuated the fort on the 15th. Sarkar, relying on *Ibrat-Nama* and other authorities, fixes the date of evacuation at 16th (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, pp. 297-98).

Letter No. 122

1. **another paper** (p. 229)—*See* Sec. Cons. 19 February 1785, No. 12 and *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 20.

2. **their Camp** (p. 229)—At Bhawanipur, 4 *cos*s from Sambhal.

Letter No. 123

1. **an account....Seiks** (p. 230)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 14.

Letter No. 124

1. **enclosed paper** (p. 231)—See Sec. Cons. 19 February 1785, No. 15 and *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 19.

2. **Sukertal** (p. 231)—Shakartal, now in Muzaffarnagar district, U.P. A great fort was constructed here by Najibud Daulah, the Rohilla chief. It is 16 miles east of Muzaffarnagar (*Muzaffarnagar District Gazetteer*, p. 224).

Letter No. 125

1. **Death of the Nawaub Zabita Khan** (p. 232)—The date given by Browne is 27 January 1785. Ganda Singh, perhaps relying on Browne, gives the same date. But according to Sarkar, the death occurred on 21 January. This date is accepted by *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 16*n* (Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 430 ; Ganda Singh, "The Maratha-Sikh Treaty of 1785" in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 1265).

2. **Ghosgur** (p. 232)—Ghausgarh, 13 miles north-east of the city of Shamli, in Muzaffarnagar district. Najibud Daulah had built a strong fort here. Zabita Khan spent his last days here in quiet retirement (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 16*n*). The fort was about a mile distant from the town of Jalalabad to the south. On the death of Ghulam Qadir, the site was deserted and the fort is now in ruins (*Muzaffarnagar District Gazetteer*, p. 253).

3. **Ghulam Kawdir Khan** (p. 232)—Ghulam Qadir Khan, son of Zabita Khan. In 1787 he compelled Shah Alam II to appoint him regent and *Bakhshi*. He, however, soon turned against his master. He took possession of the fort by force and subjected the princes and princesses to inhuman torture in an attempt to extort money from them. The Emperor himself was dethroned and blinded and Bedar Bakht, son of Ahmad Shah, placed on the throne (July 1788). But he got his well-merited punishment at the hands of Mahadji Sindia. He was defeated, captured and executed (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, p. 254*n*).

Letter No. 126

1. **No. 1 a paper of Intelligence** (p. 232)—See Sec. Cons. 1 March 1785, No. 3 and *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 41. It appears from this paper that Browne had before this sent a report of the activities in the Sikh camp up to 16th *Rabial-Awwal* (27 January). This report could not be traced.

2. **No. 2, is the Copy of a Letter** (p. 232)—See Sec. Cons. 1 March 1785, No. 4 and *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 42.

3. **Machery Rajah** (p. 232)—Pratap Singh Naruka.

4. **Ambajee** (p. 232)—As Sindia's hands were already too full with Agra and Dig, he entrusted the management of the affairs at Delhi

to Ambaji Ingle and got him appointed *faujdar* of the *mahals* bordering on the Sikh territories. The Macheri chief was sent with him. Ambaji got possession of Delhi from Najaf Quli Khan on 11 February (Ganda Singh's article in the *Proceeding of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 1265 ; Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 307).

5. **Bugheel Sing the Seik Sardar** (p. 232)—Baghel Singh was the head of the Karora Singhia *misl* which had its territories partly in the cis-Sutlej region and partly in the Jullundur Doab. He was an important Sikh chief and had considerable military genius. He was wounded in 1767 in his struggle with Zabita Khan. He died about the year 1797 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 9n).

Letter No. 127

1. **Intelligence . . . Rubbih ul Awal** (pp. 234-35)—See Sec. Cons. 1 March 1785, No. 6 and *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 44.

Letter No. 129

1. **two Arzees** (p. 236)—For Macpherson's *arzi* see *C.P.C.*, Vol. VI., No. 1617. For Hastings's *arzi* see *ibid.*, No. 1598.

2. **usual Nuzzur** (p. 236)—Lord Cornwallis also sent a *nazr* of 101 *ashrafis* on his appointment and arrival in Calcutta (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 680).

Letter No. 130

1. **the enclosed . . Shaw Allum** (p. 237)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 48; Sec. Cons. 1 March 1785, No. 8. Browne was recalled to report on the state of the royal health and James Anderson was to forward His Majesty's commands. See also Sec. Cons. 1 March 1785, No. 9, for the reason of Browne's recall.

Letter No. 131

1. **Letter of the 15th of Ferby.** (p. 238)—No letter of this date has been found. Evidently the letter of the 17 February is referred to. The fact of offering of *nazr* which is contained in Browne's letter of the 17th, is referred to in Macpherson's letter.

2. **In a Letter from him** (p. 239)—See Sec. Cons. 8 March No. 1B (Palmer's letter, Lucknow, 21 February), in which he argued against withdrawal of the agent with the Emperor. The Vazir also desired that a separate agent should remain with Shah Alam until his return to Delhi. If even then the authority of Sindia continues, the keeping of a separate agent would be useless.

3. **The late Act of Parliament** (p. 239)—Pitt's India Act of 1784.

Letter No. 132

1. **your letter** (p. 240)—Informing of his appointment as Governor General, dated 31 January and 8 February.

2. **Killadar of Agra** (p. 240)—Shuja Dil Khan, father-in-law of Afrasiab Khan.

3. **the latter sent a body of troops** (p. 240)—Under Rayaji Patil.

4. **at this place** (p. 240)—i.e., camp near Agra, perhaps at Rajghat on the Jumna, about four miles north of Agra (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 298).

5. **Seik Sirdars...engagements with Sindia** (p. 240)—Apparently Browne got information of Sindia's negotiations with the Sikhs. But a provisional engagement between Ambaji and the Sikh chiefs was not concluded until 31 March 1785.

Letter No. 133

1. **removed from...Foreigners** (p. 241)—By article 3 of the treaty of Allahabad, 16 August 1765, Shujaud Daulah engaged never to entertain Samru or any of the European deserters within his dominions (Aitchison, *Treaties etc.*, Vol. II).

Letter No. 134

1. **Shokah** (p. 242)—Demanding the Bengal tribute and (in the postscript) desiring continuance of Major Browne in his court (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 119 and Sec. Cons. 9 April 1785, No. 5).

2. **a letter from Sindia** (p. 242)—See *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 120 and Sec. Cons. 9 April 1785, No. 5.

Letter No. 137

1. **'Memorandum...1st Jany. 1785'** (p. 246)—The memorandum itself bears the date of 10 January 1785. See Appendix, pp. 264-77.

2. **above 12 years...orders were** (p. 249)—See Court's letter to Bengal, 3 March 1775.

Letter No. 138

1. **Fort of Agra...this afternoon** (p. 249)—The siege of Agra lasted for twenty to twenty-five days. Despite the strength of the garrison the fort fell on 15 *Jumada-us-Sani* (27 March). James Anderson also gives 27 March (*Hist. Papers M. S.*, No. 354) as the date of surrender. See Anderson's letter to Macpherson, 3 April 1785 (*P.R.C.*, Vol. I, p. 21).

2. **Nawaub Vizier's frontiers** (p. 249)—The western frontier of the Oudh territory ran nearly in a straight line from a point on the Jumna, a little below Agra to a point on the Ganges, near Anupshahr. As such the frontier of Oudh was very near to Aligarh. For a map showing the boundaries of Oudh see Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

3. **last Shokah** (p. 250)—The one asking for Bengal tribute.

4. **application from me to his Majesty** (p. 250)—See Sec. Cons. 9 April 1785, No. 9 and *C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 10.

Letter No. 139

1. **Bills for Extra-Charges** (p. 250)—Transmitted through his attorneys, Messrs Crofts & Johnson, Calcutta, 23 April 1785 (Sec. Cons. 15 December 1785, No. 5).

Letter No. 141

1. **Copy . . . to the Hon'ble Board** (p. 251)—*See* Sec. Cons. 19 April 1785, No. 5.

Enclosure to Letter No. 143

1. **Rind** (p. 254)—“Lt. James Nathaniel Rind of the Bengal Establishment who commanded the escorte which accompanied me while Resident at the Shah’s Court, and whom I must here beg leave to mention as a very deserving officer” (Browne, *op. cit.*, History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks—Introduction, p. xii). We are further told by Browne that the map accompanying his history was laid down by Rind from a Persian map of Punjab and put into its present shape.

2. **Bird** (p. 254)—Edward Bird, who became Lieutenant on 2 May 1781, subsequently rose to be Captain in 1798. He retired in the same year and died in 1825 (Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 146).

3. **Shah Nizam ul dien** (p. 254)—Shah Nizamuddin, an agent of Sindia at the royal court. When Ghulam Qadir Khan approached Delhi, he took fright and fled from the city on the night of 9 *Zil-qada* (23 August 1787).

4. **Rana Khan Bye** (p. 254)—Rana Khan Bhai, a Muhammadan water-carrier, who saved Mahadji’s life by removing him when wounded at the battle of Panipat to a place of safety. Sindia called him his ‘brother’ (*Bhai*) and raised him to high command. Rana Khan’s conduct proved that he was worthy of his master’s confidence. He was one of Sindia’s ablest generals.

The escape of Sindia, however, is also attributed to one Trimbakji Inglia (Keene, *Sindhia*, p. 51; Duff, *op. cit.*, Vol. II).

5. **The Shahzada is still at Lucnow** (p. 255)—He stayed at Lucknow until September 1786, when he left for Benares. At that time the Vazir was at Faizabad (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 1664).

6. **Bow Bucsby** (p. 255)—Bhao Bakhshi. His full name was Sada-shiv Rao Malhar. He was one of the principal officers of Mahadji Sindia. By order of Sindia he visited Warren Hastings at Lucknow (as Sindia’s confidential minister) in the middle of 1784 (May or June). *See C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 1140-41). He accompanied Hastings and Prince Jahandar Shah to Benares. Even after Hastings’s departure for Calcutta, he continued to stay with the Prince (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VI, No. 1612). He finally left Lucknow on 27 *Zil-qada* (2 October 1785) after taking leave of the Prince and the Vazir (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, No. 340). He had a conciliatory disposition and worked for peace and amity between the English and Maratha chiefs. When Daulat Rao succeeded Mahadji in 1794 he appointed Bhao

Bakhshi as his *Diwan*, which office he held till his death about the beginning of 1802 (*C.P.C.*, Vol. VII, p. 5 n).

Letter No. 144

1. **the Paper it enclosed** (p. 255)—*See* Pub. Cons. 10 December 1784—Public Letters from Court, 1784-85, pp. 23-26. It demanded the whole correspondence between Governor General and Browne and expressed the determination of the Court to dismiss Browne if, on a perusal of the correspondence, it should appear that he entered into any engagement with the court of Delhi, without sufficient authority for the purpose.

Letter No. 145

1. **Gazette of the 12th May** (p. 256)—“The demands of the tribute were transmitted through Major Browne, and made immediately upon his recall from the Court of Shah Allum, but without any communication of the subject to Mr. Anderson” (Seton-Karr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*, 1864, Vol. I, p. 98). The *Gazette* also spoke highly of Anderson’s conduct in regard to this affair.

The paragraph above quoted was considered by Major Browne to convey a severe reflection upon his conduct by implying that he had while acting as Resident excited the King to make a demand of the tribute of Bengal from the Company. This publication led to a duel on 10 September 1787 between Browne and Macpherson in Hyde Park, London, but it ended happily. For a narrative of the duel *see* Public Letters from Court, 1787-88, pp. 87-99.

2. **Paishwa’s Claims in the Doab** (p. 259)—In January 1773, Shah Alam submitted to the Marathas whom he had defied earlier and promised, besides other things, to cede the provinces of Kora and Allahabad to them (Madec quoted in Sarkar, *Fall*, Vol. III, p. 75n). *See also* Select Progs, 1772-73, p. 239 for a letter from Nawab Shujaud Daulah where he said, “His Majesty has ceded the countries of Corah and Kurrah and everything agreeably to their requests” (*Ibid.*, p. 285, a letter from Gabriel Harper to Hastings, Faizabad, 25 December 1772).

Letter No. 146

1. **10 of December 1784** (p. 261)—*See* Company’s General Letter to Bengal, No. 1.

2. **a Letter addressed . . . Directors** (p. 261)—*See* Browne’s letter No. 148.

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